National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PRO-SLAVERY MUTTERINGS.

MR. SUMNER has been now for nearly two hours regaling the Senate with one of his remarkable productions of classical eloquence, *all* about emancipation and the negro. The scene is dreary and monotonous enough; the subject is about, as far as Sumner is concerned, being almost "played out." The Abolition divines and lecturers who have been entertaining their kindred spirits within the metropolis, under the benign and august influence of the association herein before mentioned, have completely knocked Sumner out of the shade of public favor. His name is entirely eclipsed by that of Wendell Phillips, who, being, when last in this city (by no right whatever), allowed in the Senate Chamber, now aspires to take a seat there by right of election, and for that purpose is watching the one Mr. Sumner honors so highly.—*Wash. Cor. N. Y. Express.*

The Republican newspaper of this city [Washington], so assiduous in behalf of every Abolition movement, has actually degenerated from a show of respectability it did *once* possess, into the regular negro organ of the place. Nothing appertaining to their meetings and desires, but finds a willing place of reception in its columns. Negro conventions, petitions, and movements of all kinds, are published with much gusto. Every item with which they are favored relative to the class dwelling in this modern paradise, is indicative of an undeniable disposition to advance the *status* of negro equality. Such things are not only in very bad taste, but absolutely disgusting to white men.—*Ibid.*

The proposition adopted in the House of Representatives, authorizing the appointment of a committee to take initiatory steps towards applying the emancipation policy to the central and border States, including Virginia and Tennessee, failed to receive the support of several of the ultra Republicans. They did not regard it as expansive enough. Nothing short of a full extirpation of slavery everywhere, not excepting the Gulf section, will satisfy their remorseless cravings. Every Border State Representative, of every shade of politics, voting, excepting Mr. Blair, who represents the city of St. Louis, Mo., united in solid opposition to the proposition—a convincing evidence that it is distasteful to the States whose internal policy it seeks to disturb.—*Ibid.*

There is no military necessity which closes one or more churches, as was the case here [Washington] yesterday, and then opens the Capitol of the country to preachers like Dr. Cheever, and to a Chaplain from Maine, who only yesterday, Sabbath as it was, spoke of arming the blacks, if need be, and of driving the rebels into the Gulf, and then parcelling out their plantations into small farms for new planters! These reverends, who often wear "the livery of Heaven to serve the devil in," will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, be found among the list of non-combatants. I know many such noisy gentlemen here, not of the cloth, and always direct them straight to the war office for commissions, as they are sure never to be found among the lists of privates. The great body of the army who do the fighting, I have good reason to believe, despise such boasters. The noisy gentleman who had the floor yesterday, to the great annoyance of the regular chaplain, was quite as ready for a war with England, France and Spain, as with the rebel States, and all through his long discourse he was evidently "spiling for a fight." Oh for a real Gospel pulpit, where all politics are eschewed, and from which all mere pretenders are banished!

The preacher yesterday, however, was only a type of a large class of our countrymen. A majority of his audience, judging by their loud and repeated demonstrations of applause, were in sympathy with him. The sensation was delightful to scores of listeners, and they loudly applauded a discourse calculated to create divisions among loyal men in the free States, and to drive men in arms against the government, no matter what the causes which impelled them to do so, to absolute despair.—*Ibid.*

A Massachusetts soldier, writing to the Newburyport (Mass.) *Herald*, utters this ominous threat: "Our rifles are coming, and we are in readiness to march. We are to be attached to King's division. You may bet one thing, though, that McClellan will send us to the right place. By the way, what is the government thinking of, that it don't suspend the New York *Tribune*, confiscate the office and hang Greeley? Is he aware how popular the General is with us? Is he and the wretched rabble at his heels aware of our strength? What it Roman and French history should repeat itself, and we, the soldiers, should say who should be the next President?"

Nashville, Tenn., March 14.—A bitterness of feeling prevails in the camp against the politicians who, they consider, are using them as tools with which to wreak their revenge on the South. They do not wish to be considered bravos, and will not be used as such: Much dissatisfaction prevails at the recent proclamation of the President in reference to emancipation, for the reason that its tendency is to embitter the South and repress the good feeling which was slowly manifesting itself since the arrival of our troops. But more discontent exists with regard to the proposition to prohibit officers of the army from delivering up fugitive slaves. I have heard intelligent general officers say that they consider this a virtual repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, and that they will pay it no attention, because they recognize the Constitution before all laws of Congress, or acts of the Administration. Let me make a prediction, and "I speak of what I do know," when I say, that if Congress and the Administration ask the army to carry out unconstitutional or illegal measures, or to attempt to use them for the purpose of vengeance, and to gratify the private spite of politicians, too cowardly to risk their own persons in the field, the officers will resign their commissions and the men disband. Military associations are much stronger than political ones, and a unity of sentiment is much more readily brought about in the army, than in civil life, and let an army of six hundred thousand men act in harmony, it will be difficult for politicians to control them, particularly when the army has the Constitution on its side. The soldiers now believe that Northern and Southern demagogues have brought on the war, for their own selfish purposes, by deluding and working upon the passions of the people of both sections. Upon their return home they will let their sentiments be known and hurl these men from their places.—*N. Y. Express.*

FORTRESS MONROE, April 2, 1862.

Speaking of "contrabands"—out of the large number assembled at this point and Hampton creek, if you want a little work done, it is almost an impossibility to get any of these folks to do it. The creeks around and about here are filled with oysters—known to the lovers of bivalves as "Norfolk oysters," and the roads and rivers swarm with fish—yet you cannot get either without great difficulty. When these colored people had masters, oysters were in abundance. It is only when want compels them that they will go out and catch a few. Our soldiers wade in and catch them with their hands. In the language of "Aunty Pheley," in "Uncle Tom," they are really a "shiftless set."

In the morning the males leave their quarters for outdoor work. It is tantalizing to see them move, in single file, at a snail's pace, as though they had no power of locomotion, and were making efforts to get along the best way they could. Ask the females if they have any occupation, they say "yes, plenty of mending, washing, and cooking." Upon further inquiry, you find that all this "mending, washing, and cooking" is done for themselves.

They are far better off than our soldiers. While these poor fellows are bivouacking out in the open air, the "contrabands" have good shelter, good food, and plenty of warmth. The soldiers complain sadly of this.—*Cor. Philadelphia Inquirer.*

Selections.

GERRIT SMITH TO MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

"OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS." OF EQUAL RIGHTS ALL RACES. "HONOR ALL MEN."

PETERBORO, April 5th, 1862.

HON. M. BLAIR, Postmaster General—*Dear Sir:* I have read the letter which you sent to the great anti-slavery meeting held in New York 6th last month; and I have read it with the respect due to its distinguished author, and with my ever deep interest in the subjects of which it treats.

You evidently foresee the speedy death of American slavery. It will be as sure as speedy. The nation will not let it live to become the cause of another war. One such reckoning-day for the crime of slaveholding as is this day of horrors will cure us of all disposition to repeat the crime. The punishment which the guilty South and no less guilty North are suffering cannot soon be forgotten by either. And was there ever a punishment more justly allotted?—more righteously retributive? It falls just where it should, and only where it should. The whites of the two sections are plundering and slaughtering each other; and in neither are the blacks harmed. The South is not aggravating the sorrows of the blacks. The North has ceased to send them into slavery, and is becoming kind to them. The slaves are getting their freedom without fighting for it. The blood of their oppressors, Northern and Southern, instead of their own blood, is purchasing it.

And however expedient it might be, it nevertheless will not be indispensable to build up barriers, statutory, constitutional or other against the return of slavery. It will never come back to curse us. The nation that has tried slavery and abolished it, never recalls it. As they who have had the small-pox do not have it again, so, too, the nation that has had the infinitely more loathsome disease of slavery does not have it again. The British West India planters, although they grumbled at some of the workings of emancipation, had nevertheless no desire for the restoration of slavery.

You are "morally certain" that if the slaves shall be unconditionally freed, they will be massacred. I am greatly astonished that you are. My more favorable views of human nature would not allow the slightest suspicion of such diabolism. And no less astonished am I that your only preventive of the unparalleled crime is for government to fall in with the claims of the guilty and to yield up the rights of the innocent. How unlike are your views of the office of government to those expressed by the noble and lovely Paul! He would have it "a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well." But you would have it take sides with the guilty against the innocent. A true government goes for the innocent at whatever expense to the guilty. A true government stands by the least black baby at whatever cost to the millions of men who would wrong it. A true government goes for justice without compromise. But your best proposition is to leave undisturbed the monsters who are whetting their knives, and to save millions of men from those knives only by tearing them from their homes and driving them out of their country. I acknowledge your hope that these millions will go voluntarily. But if it is not your plan that they *must* go, then I know not why you should have written your letter. The most radical Abolitionists admit, aye, and claim, that they *may* go. Moreover, you would probably (I would not) call it a voluntary going, however much it might have been induced by their disabilities, deprivations and oppressions at the hands of government.

Government is now, and ever has been, the heaviest curse of earth. But it will be transmuted into its greatest blessing when it shall be driven back from its manifold usurpations to its sole legitimate office of protection. Then it will meddle with the rights of none; but will simply hold a sure and steady shield over the rights of all. Then beneath that shield will the right of all to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" be equally sacred. Then government will have no part in assorting, domesticating or colonizing its subjects; but will leave them to dispose of such matters after their own free choice.

The colonizing of the blacks may be highly expedient; but government has no more to do with it than with their dress or food. If the blacks have an insurmountable dislike of their white neighbors, or of the climate, or government, then let them leave us to go where they please. Hayti, Central America and other countries will invite them and pay much of the expense of their emigration. Their white neighbors will very probably prize the labor of the blacks too highly to consent to pay anything to get rid of them. You and I and other speculatists may have our theories about collecting the whites into the temperate and the blacks into the tropical regions. I confess that I am among those who believe that, were government to allow free play to the laws of nature, the blacks would move toward and the whites from the Equator. But government is not to act upon, nor so much as to take knowledge of these theories. Its one work is to protect those who, for the time being, are its subjects. It is to have no choice of subjects. Whether they become more or less white, red or black, is nothing to it. Should the white men of this nation visit other nations and bring back for their wives negresses and squaws, there would be no power in the government to stop it and no modification of its duties resulting from it.

You would have government colonize the blacks to prevent their being murdered by the whites. I apprehend that your assumption of this illegitimate power for government is not your only fault at this point. You would not have the power wielded impartially. Were the case reversed and the blacks to threaten the murder of the whites, not the colonization of the whites, but the slaughter, if need be, of every black would be your remedy. I much fear that your highest ideal of government is a white man's government. But that is no better than a black man's government. And neither is good for anything. For whether it be the government or the individual that, instead of being ennobled with the soul of manhood, is shrivelled with the spirit of caste, humanity has nothing to hope for from the miserable counterfeit.

You have much to say of the difference of races; and you hold that out of this difference have grown difficult problems for our government to solve. What I have already said shows that, in my opinion, government has nothing to do with such problems. I add, that the less individuals have to do with them the better. The bare entertainment of them begets conceit, arrogance and oppression. What is more, they are not real problems. There is in them nothing to solve—nothing to tax the ingenuity of either government or individuals. What we shall do about the difference between two races is no more a problem than what we shall do about the difference between two stars or two mountains. We are simply to accept the difference and to pass on. An owlish philosophic inquiry into what we shall do about the difference God has made in the skins of different men is not less impertinent than would be such an inquiry into what we shall do about the difference He has ordained between the complexion of the sun and moon. Moreover, that one portion of the human family is essentially inferior to another is probably nothing better than a prejudice. Englishmen were not essentially inferior to Irishmen when long ago Irishmen bought and sold them; and Irishmen are not essentially inferior to Englishmen when now they are oppressed by Englishmen. Changes of circumstances, along with other causes, alternately lift up and depress a people. But their inherent, inborn faculties are neither multiplied nor diminished because developed in one age and undeveloped in another. Africa has contained the preeminent seats of learning and power; and in the endless revolutions in human affairs she may again and again contain and cease to contain them. The sooner government shall stop its war upon nature the sooner will these fluctuations become less, and the sooner will the nations begin to approach the same permanent level.

In your eyes the special action of government where there are "two different races in the same community" is a duty. It is its duty, you mean, to prefer one to the other. I would that you could see such special action and such preference to be a crime—and a crime for which God has desolated many nations and is now desolating this.

You justify the "jealousy of caste"—the "jealousy of races"; and your proof that it is the product of "the highest wisdom" is that "we conquer and hold our conquests by it." But what is to you proof of its good is to me proof of its bad character. And you commend this jealousy because it protects a superior race from social intercourse with an inferior one. Better such intercourse, however, than to forfeit ourselves against it by hatred. At the risk of whatever consequences, we are to love all men and to rejoice at their rising in the social scale. And whilst I dare not admit that to refuse intercourse with any portion of our Common Father's children is sinless, I dare affirm that such intercourse is not to be avoided if it can be avoided only at the expense of ignoring the claims of the human brotherhood and of withholding our love from a portion of it. Whatever else you have learned in the school of Christ, I cannot believe that you learned this jealousy there. Much as you hate slavery, I feel confident that it is to its teachings and influences you are indebted for this jealousy. It is a sad fact that slavery has been a successful teacher of our whole people, and that the damaged characters of even those who hate it prove the universality of its baleful influences. Our hatred of the blacks, notwithstanding you so strangely construe it into an expression of our hatred of slavery, comes, nevertheless, from the teachings and largely also from our love of slavery. In the nature of things, the unrighteousness of hating men cannot stand in connection with the righteousness of hating oppression. Go the world over, and you will no more find the haters of man hating oppression than you will find the lovers of men loving it. I confess that the mass of the Southern whites (and there is a great deal of such malignity at the North also) hate the blacks; and I affirm that it is because they hate them that they love to see them sunk in slavery.

Your remark that "the blacks have quickly disappeared when emancipated" can be accounted for only on the supposition that at the moment of making it you inadvertently confounded them with the Indians. All writers are liable to such confusion. It is very true that the Indians diminish rapidly. But it is as true that the negroes do not diminish at all. Whether bond or free, they increase everywhere, if we except instances where, as on sugar plantations, they are from purpose and policy worked to death. They increase in the West India Islands, and in the rigorous climate of Canada. And even in the Northern States, where, by force of cruel laws, both civil and social, they are shut out of respectable employments, places and associations; degraded; driven into the narrowest straits of poverty; and driven into the most wasting vices—they almost everywhere keep up their numbers. And this, too, notwithstanding that at every Census many, under that "bleaching process" which goes steadily on, pass from the black to the white class. I must believe that were the Northern blacks, instead of being crowded into the unhealthiest tenements of our towns, scattered through the rural districts in as large proportion as are the whites, their increase would, in spite of all their disadvantages, fall little short of that of the whites. I would say in this connection that they who argue that the negro's habits of improvidence in slavery hinder his thrift in freedom, argue not against setting him free but in favor of hurrying him out of slavery.

You assume quite too much when you say that the whites hold the lands of the South by title from the Creator. If you mean only that the climate of these lands is more favorable to the whites (though for pro-slavery ends the reverse is often insisted on), I am willing to let the assumption pass for what it is worth. But the title to a country growing out of considerations of climate is very far from being the only one. Occupation is a ground of title; and the title is none the weaker if the occupation be compulsory instead of voluntary. The earned title is another; and by this most emphatically does the South belong to the sweat-and-tear and blood-drenched slave. Moreover, there is such a thing as the forfeiture of title to a country; and in all their generations the Southern oppressors have, by turning a free country into a prison and its blessings into curses, repeated their forfeiture of all possible title to it.

Do you ask what is to become of the lands of the South when the war is ended and slavery abolished? I would that these, as well as lands elsewhere, could be disposed of on those great and precious land reform principles, which teach that the right of all to the soil is as equal and sacred as to the light and air. But few, even of the good and intelligent, are as yet up to the level of these principles. The lands of the South will, in the main, continue to be held by the families that now hold them. It will be said that wives and children should not, because their husbands and fathers were rebels, be made homeless. And even the rebels themselves, although they have forfeited both lands and lives, we shall be slow to drive from their homes when we remember our own share of the responsibility for the rebellion. Parents, who give wine to their children until they are so intoxicated as to kick the table over, are hardly the right persons to punish them for their uncontrollable feet. And we, who have fostered slavery, until slaveholders could no longer contain themselves, are in hardly a suitable relation to punish them very severely for their outbreaking insanity. The rebellion we must put down. But all the time we are putting it down we should be holding ourselves largely responsible for it and condemning ourselves quite as emphatically as we condemn the traitors. Slavery made them traitors; and we were so corrupt and cruel as to sustain slavery. To believe that anything else than slavery either did or could prompt the rebellion is evidence of the last degree of prejudice and foolishness. No free State embarked in it; and every slave State, not even Delaware excepted, would have done so but for the fear of free State resistance. Add to this the avowed purpose of the rebel leaders to make slavery the corner-stone of the new nation. And, what is more than all, add that nothing short of the impatience, intolerance, imperiousness and contemptuousness generated in an ambitious, restless spirit by slaveholding could have sufficed to urge up men to the point of this wild and guilty rebellion.

I said that we must put down the rebellion. God teach our rulers how to do it! They are impoverishing the nation, and sacrificing scores of thousands of lives—and, but too probably, all in vain. Very cheap and very easy is the way to put it down; and, to put it down surely, and so that it will stay down. Very plain is it, too. But our rulers are as yet too blind to see it. Simply take slavery from the hands of the rebels, and the rebellion is ended certainly, entirely and forever. It is, however, immeasurably important both to them and to us, that it be taken in the right spirit. It must be taken, not vindictively, not with self-complacency and with pharisaical righteousness, but in penitence and pity. We are to take slavery from the hands of the rebels as the reasonable parent takes back the knife which, with false indulgence, he had given to his child. He is more disposed to blame himself than to punish the child for the cutting of the furniture and fingers. Conquered the rebels must be in mercy to themselves. Conquered they must be that the country may be saved. Conquered they must be that a rebellion, which is the most horrible pro-slavery piracy, may be adequately abhorred, and that civil government may be adequately vindicated and honored. But it is not for us to magnify their crime and invoke its severest punishment. Their pro-slavery is not half so guilty as ours. Theirs falls in with their education. Our education forbids ours. Theirs comes of mighty temptation. Ours has nothing better to feed on than the poor scraps which pro-slavery merchants and manufacturers, politicians and priests, throw out to it. There are many among us who are wont to say that we cannot forgive such men as Davis, and Stephens, and Mason, and Slidell. Punished they should be—though not excessively. But when we come to the point of forgiveness, the question which should most engage us is, what we, the greater sinners, shall do in order that we may be able to forgive ourselves. There is one thing, and only one thing, to do to this end—and that is, to take from the hands of the slaveholders the slavery which we have strengthened in their hands. This done—this mercy rendered to the slaveholders, the slaves and ourselves—and we shall then be at peace with ourselves, or, in other words, shall have forgiven ourselves. Talk of our inability to forgive rebels! Why, every Northern editor who continues to cry against the Abolitionists, or, in other words, to cry for slavery, and every Northern preacher who preaches prudence on the slavery question, and every Northern member of Congress who stands in the way of making an instant and clean sweep of slavery is, in important respects, a far guiltier upholder of the rebellion than is the worst rebel who was born and bred under Southern influences.

Could I have my wish, the chief punishment of the mass of the rebels would be but to wrest slavery from them! What, and then leave them to do us all possible harm? But deprived of slavery they would be as well nigh harmless as serpents without fangs. Moreover, their disposition to do harm would then rapidly die out. It is true that, were the slaveholders to emancipate under the pressure of the war—and I much fear that they will ere we are ready to do so—they would then be both morally and physically unconquerable; the nation would be dissolved; and, for a time, a great evil would ensue both to the North and South. But this time would not exceed a generation. The cause of the division being blotted out, the South would soon be glad to get back into the old nation, the course of whose mountains and rivers shows that it can be divided only unnaturally and temporarily.

I said that the lands of the South will be held mainly as now. But what will the poor emancipated landless blacks do? Just what the poor landless whites will. Both will have to work for those that have land—at least until they are able to buy land. The blacks will buy it fast. The African evinces a peculiarly strong love of his "bornin grounds," and a peculiarly strong desire to have a home of his own. During the brief period of freedom in the British West Indies, black men, to the amount of nearly or quite one hundred thousand, have become freeholders. And this, too, notwithstanding they were much inferior to ours in intelligence.

My saying that the blacks will buy homes at the South implies my assumption that, after the war, "The United States (will) shall guarantee to every State in this Union a (real) republican government." The "Dred Scott decision" will no longer be law. Men will then buy, and sell, and exercise all the rights of citizenship, not because of their complexion, but simply because they are men. They, who shall still stand out for the "Black laws" of Illinois and other States, will rapidly become few. The denial to manhood of the rights of manhood will then be seen to be the guiltiest and the meanest crime. Black laws, cutaneous democracy, caste-colonization, pro-slavery sermons, pro-slavery editorials, and all that sort of satanic brood will then be at immense discount. The war will cost us much treasure and life. But as the thunder-storm, though with damage here and there from its bolts, is nevertheless a messenger of health, so will the war, in purifying the moral and political atmosphere, bring us some recompense for our frightful sacrifices in it.

Will the illiterate and ignorant blacks of the South be allowed to vote? Not unless the illiterate and ignorant whites are. There will be no bounty on a black skin. Qualifications for voting, and in short for all political and civil rights will, I trust, be at the South as in the British West Indies, entirely irrespective of complexion.

Alas, that the question was ever raised: "What shall government do with the blacks at the close of the war?" Because of our ignorance and prejudice we have entertained it, and been embarrassed by it. Nothing so much as this question has kept and still keeps us from prosecuting the war unconditionally and thoroughly, and therefore to a speedy and triumphant result. I admit that our leading men are concerned to have the rebellion put down. Far greater, however, is the concern of a large share of them to have the slaves continued in their chains or colonized. To these the ending of the rebellion, if it is to be also the lifting up of five millions of blacks into fellow-citizens, would be no joyful prospect.

Pardon me, dear sir, for expressing regret that you sent such a letter to the New York meeting. I readily admit that most of our statesmen would not have written a better one. They would have written a worse one at some points. But I believed that you would be able to rise in this crisis above vulgar statesmanship, and contrast yourself honorably and beautifully with its prejudice, narrowness and superstition. I did not suspect that, in answer to the thunder calls for the abolition of the crime of crimes, you, too, would be found proposing conditions. I had counted confidently on your readiness to have slavery struck down by the war power. I should even have hoped that, for a piracy, and that too the superlative one, you would be found to hold that there is no law, and can be no law. I could not doubt that, in your eyes, no race of men is "common or unclean"; and that even in the one which has been more bruised and battered than any other by its unnatural brethren, you would discern, aye, and gratefully and joyfully, the image of the Common Father.

I am disappointed in you. I am disappointed in many. Nevertheless, I do not despair of the nation. It will come out of the "seven times more heated" furnace of this war freed from much dross. It will come out of it not to be still shamed by the world for a sham and pro-slavery democracy, but to win the world's admiration of the beautiful and glorious first fruits of a genuine and anti-slavery democracy. Degraded and trampled-on men will be lifted up by this war, and will for the first time be invested with sacredness and held in honor. Their better-conditioned brethren will receive them into fellowship, and will henceforth talk less about inferior races and be less disposed to argue an essential and permanent inferiority from a circumstantial and transient one.

"It 's comin yet for a' that,
That man to man the warld o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

Men will yet consent to dwell with men. Preposterous is the hope that, before they do, "The Tabernacle of God shall be with men and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God." That men consent to dwell with men will ever be the highest proof that God dwells with them. As the harmony of mankind is the most persuasive prayer for the descent of the Spirit, so is it also the surest evidence that the prayer is heard, and that the Spirit has descended. As the recognition of their entire brotherhood is what God most loves in His children, so is the recognition the surest evidence that He dwells with them and in them.

I do not choose words too strong to express my emotions when I say I am alarmed and distressed at the multiplying indications that a political Caste-Colonization Party is in process of organization, and that gentlemen of the high standing and anti-slavery antecedents of yourself and Senator Doolittle are favoring it. It will, from the first, act in concert with, and will probably soon become openly one with, that portion of the Democratic party which its pro-slavery leaders are now at work to rally. Such a colonization party is distinguishable in name only, and not at all in effect, from an open pro-slavery party. The unconditional patriots in the Democratic as well as the Republican party feel that the present is emphatically no time for such work. Until the war which threatens the life of the country is ended, they will have no part in building up the Democratic or Republican or any other party. Until then their one work will be to save the country.

I deprecate this nascent colonization party, not because I fear its success. When slavery shall be abolished (and we are on the eve of its abolition), the party will die. Hatred of the blacks, which is the pabulum and soul of the party, gets all its life and virus from slavery. Slavery dead, and the desire to colonize the blacks would also be dead. You and Senator Doolittle would find no more sympathy with your scheme. Nay, you would yourselves have no more sympathy with it. And if slavery shall live, even the slaveholders will not consent on any terms to the colonization of the mass of the blacks, either those in or those out of slavery. They will, as were the slaveholders of Maryland, be found valuing the labor of black men too highly to consent to their expulsion from the country. Nor do I deprecate the party because the first actual attempt to drive five millions of useful innocent people out of the nation would begin a war of races in which the dozen millions of blacks in this hemisphere and the whole civilized world in addition would be against us. For there will never be this first actual attempt. When the time for it shall have come the daring and the disposition will both be lacking.

It is for other reasons that I deprecate this colonization movement. Its tendency will be to hold back the government from striking at the cause of the war; and to produce hesitation, diversion, compromise, at a moment when the salvation of the country calls for blows, immediate, united, and where, at whatever damage to whatever other interest, they will fall most effectively. Not its least lamentable tendency is to foster in the American people that mean pride of race and that murderous spirit of caste by which they have outraged and crushed so many millions, and for which they are now, in the righteous providence of God, called to an account so appalling.

I am, dear sir, respectfully yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

TO BE ARRESTED.—Prominent Union men of Western Virginia intend to urge upon General Fremont, who is now in the city, the importance of arresting two or three hundred of the leading secessionists of this section of the State, and holding them as hostages for the release of the Union men arrested and imprisoned in Richmond and other places.—*Wheeling (Va.) Intelligencer.*

ATTEMPTED KIDNAPPING IN WASHINGTON.

THE KIDNAPPERS CAUGHT AND LOCKED UP.

From The Washington Republican, April 7.

ON Saturday, the camps of the 7th New York and 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, on the Seventh street road, beyond the Park Hotel, were scenes of the wildest excitement, caused by an attempt on the part of two County Constables named John H. Wise (late jailor) and Charles Kemble, to arrest a free negro man on suspicion of being a runaway slave. The colored man whose arrest was attempted is named Edward Sam. He is a native of the Island of Trinidad, and has free papers, which are certified to by the United States Consul at that port, and also by the British Consul in this city. We paid a visit to both of the camps yesterday, and gleaned the following particulars of the affair:

Early on Saturday afternoon a hack containing three persons was seen to stop on the Seventh street road, about half a mile beyond the Park Hotel. At that point one of the men (a former sergeant of the 7th New York Cavalry) got out and stood in the road. The hack passed on a short distance and stopped again in front of the camp of the 7th New York. The two men there got out, and at a given signal from the soldier standing in the road, pounced upon and seized a negro man who was within the lines. The man arrested inquired the reason of such proceeding, when he was informed by one of the kidnappers that they were going to take him to his master, as he was a runaway slave. The colored man told them that he had no master, that he was as free as they were, and that he had his free papers, which he offered to produce if they would release him and give him time to go after them. This the kidnappers refused to do, and began to drag him to the hack, the colored man all the while protesting that he was free, and crying lustily for help. His cries attracted the attention of a sentinel named Michael Hickey, a member of Company M, 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry (a squad of whom were engaged in guarding some government property near by), who rushed to his rescue and demanded of the kidnappers the cause of the colored man's arrest.

He was told by Kemble that the man was his slave, and that he had come to take him into custody. The sentinel, who knew the colored man to be free, told them that if they did not release him immediately, he would run them through with his sabre, at the same time drawing his weapon. The kidnappers did not mind his threat, and again attempted to drag their victim to the carriage, but were soon stopped by the soldier, who made a thrust at one of them with his sabre. Wise asked the soldier if he knew what he was about, and if he intended to place himself between them and the law, to which he replied that he would place himself between them and h—ll sooner than that they should carry off a free man into slavery. The kidnappers professed to have an order from Provost-Marshal Porter giving them permission to search any of the camps around the city for runaways, which, upon being asked to exhibit they could not do.

By this time a large crowd of soldiers from the surrounding camps had collected around the kidnappers, who got into the carriage and ordered the driver to take them into town, vowing vengeance against the sentinel, who had interfered with them "while in discharge of their *duty*." The sentinel, who was not to be bamboozled in that way, however, ordered the driver to halt, and the "kids" to get out of the carriage and accompany him to his Colonel's tent. The two men refusing to accede to the modest request of the sentinel, he drew his pistol with one hand, and with the other, jerked them out of the vehicle, threatening, if they made the least resistance, to blow their brains out. This proceeding had the effect of persuading the gallant "kids" that it was best for them to obey the sentinel's command, and to follow him to the Colonel's tent.

The crowd by this time had further increased, and as the men were taken from the carriage a scene of the wildest excitement ensued. From the throats of between 300 and 400 enraged men came loud demands of "Hang the d—d kidnappers!" "Run them through!" "Shoot the nigger-catchers!" "Stone them to death!" "Get a rope!" and like cries very unpleasant to men in the position of the "kids." It was with great difficulty that the officers of the 7th New York could prevent their men from executing summary vengeance upon the constables, who were being conveyed to the camp of the 4th Pennsylvania, about a hundred rods beyond that of the 7th New York. Arriving at the camp of the 4th, the "kids" were taken before Col. Childs, who, after hearing the evidence, ordered them to be sent into town to the Provost Marshal's office. They were each immediately placed upon a charger, and under the escort of about a dozen mounted men, proceeded on their journey townwards. The escort was accompanied by Quartermaster Light, and Capt. C. D. Rosseau of the 7th New York Cavalry.

The cortege passed down Seventh street, followed until below the Park Hotel by an immense crowd, who kept up a continual hooting and jeering, interspersed with threats of lynching, which so scared the poor "kids" that they were pale with fear, each of them now and then turning his head around to see if there was any immediate prospect of the threats being put into execution. As the party proceeded still farther along Seventh street, the boys, seeing that something was loose, began to follow, and by the time the procession reached the Provost Marshal's office, on the corner of Nineteenth and I streets, two or three hundred boys had collected around, some shouting with all their might, "Secession nigger-thieves!" "Kidnappers!" "Nigger-stealers!" "Got you this time, old fellows!" "How do you like nigger-stealing now?" and similar cries.

At the Provost Marshal's office the "kids" were ordered to dismount, and were then taken before Gen. Wadsworth, who asked them to show him the warrant upon which they attempted to arrest the colored man. They informed him that they had no warrant, and did not need any to arrest a slave, or even a supposed runaway. Their explanation, however, did not suit the General, who ordered them to the central guard-house, there to be confined until further examination can be had.

They were then paraded down to the guard-house, where they still are, and where we hope and trust they may remain until they are entirely cured of their mania for arresting negroes on suspicion of being runaways.

The man who gave the constables information that a runaway slave was in the camp of the 7th New York Cavalry is named Albert K. McMurray, of Lansingburg, N. Y. He was formerly a sergeant in that corps, but was degraded from his rank and dismissed from the regiment on account of gross misconduct. We were informed by a number of officers of the regiment that through information derived from him, three other colored men have been arrested and carried off from the camp on suspicion of being slaves, and since then no tidings have been received of them. We are requested to state by the officers and men of the regiment, that he is universally hated and despised by the whole corps.

The negro man whose arrest was attempted is engaged as cook to the Adjutant of the regiment, and was previously employed as officer's servant in the 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, which regiment he left to join the 7th New York. He seems to be a very intelligent man, and is universally esteemed by all who knew him in both regiments. He says that he was born and raised in Trinidad, and has always been a free man. He is consequently a British subject. He was brought by one of the Captains of the 7th from the State of New York. The officers of both regiments express themselves determined to ferret out the whole transaction—other persons being, it is supposed, behind the scenes—and to have the guilty parties punished.

P. S.—Since writing the above, we have received a communication from an eye-witness to the transaction, fully corroborating the above statement, with the following addition: In reference to the arrest, the writer says: "Soon a negro left the camp for the spring, to get a bucket of water. The constables went to the negro and asked him if the water was good, and if he would give them a drink? While he was in the act of giving them a drink, one of them knocked the water and pail out of his hand, at the same time both of them seizing him by the collar and dragging him along toward the carriage. He halloed as no human being ever halloed before." The writer concludes: "They were soon mounted on horses, and under a strong guard, amid hisses and groans and showers of mud, brought to the city."

ANOTHER CASE—ATTEMPTED SEIZURE OF A PARTY OF CONTRABANDS—THE KIDNAPPERS CAUGHT.

From The Washington Republican of April 9.

ABOUT six weeks ago a colored family, consisting of a man, his wife and two children, in company with two other negro women, came to this city from Prince George's County, Maryland, and placed themselves under military protection—in other words, they were declared "contrabands." The family belonged to a man named William Bane, who, it is alleged by the negroes, has been engaged in active rebellion against the government. The two single women belonged to a man named Bird, who, it is said, holds a commission in the rebel army in Virginia.

A short time after their arrival in this city the negro man's wife was employed by an old widower in the Navy Yard, named Brown, to take charge of his domestic affairs, and was assigned a small building in the rear of Brown's house as a place of abode for herself and children. The husband and the other women obtained quarters in Duff Green's Row, on Capitol Hill.

About a week ago one of the women gave birth to a child, and was confined to her bed for some days, during which time she was frequently visited by her husband and the two negro women, who left their quarters under passes signed by the authorities who have charge of them. On last Saturday night, about twelve o'clock, while they were on a visit to the sick woman, the door of the cabin was broken open by three men, one of whom was Bane. The name of the other two men are Robert and John Hunter, near neighbors of Bane. After getting into the house, the kidnappers began to secure their victims preparatory to removal, which was to be effected in a waggon which was standing in the street, a short distance from the house. They handcuffed the man, leaving him in the front room on the first floor, after which the kidnappers proceeded to the room above for the purpose of securing the three women and the children. By some means or other the man who was handcuffed succeeded in opening the front door, and escaped into the street, crying with all his might for the police, who soon came to the rescue.

The policemen, accompanied by the handcuffed negro, returned to the house and arrested the three men, who had already got two of the women into the waggon, and were about bringing out the sick woman and children for like disposal. The negro man and the two women, with the kidnappers, were marched off to the Sixth ward station-house, where they were kept until the next morning, when they were all taken before Provost Marshal Doster, who ordered the negroes to be released, and the three kidnappers to the guard-house.

All of the negroes, at the time of their attempted abduction, had passes signed by the military authorities stating that they were under government protection and control. They exhibited these passes to their would-be kidnappers, who replied, with an oath, that they did not care for them, bidding them get ready to return to slavery, and to prepare themselves, when they returned home, for a dose of "cat o' nine tails."

NEGRO REGIMENTS.

From The Evening Post.

IT is said that the Secretary of War is considering a proposition to garrison the recaptured Southern forts with negro regiments during the sickly season. The rebels have set an example in this respect. Regiments of well-drilled and capable negroes have been formed in different parts of the South since the war began, and although the slaves have been held to the practice of arms against their will and under the immediate terrors of coercion—deserting in squads as soon as opportunity offered—the fact that they have been so employed shows that they can be used as soldiers.

Morally and physically, the negroes of the South, who have been emancipated by the fortune of war from the control of their masters, are fitted to become useful auxiliaries to our military operations during the coming summer, should the war be prolonged until the sickly season sets in. They are acclimated to the South, and can endure the miasms that would prove fatal to the soldiers of the North. They are strong, and many of them are intelligent. They may be more safely trusted with arms than the whiskey-drinking and quarrelsome rebel forces; and are eager to prove their gratitude for the benefits which freedom, brought to them under the shadow of our flag, has given them.

In case of the continuance of the campaign through the sultry heats of July and August, a few regiments of able-bodied colored men, carefully drilled by our own officers, and commanded by white men, could hold all the forts and towns that our forces have recaptured from the enemy. With their natural enthusiasm and their new-born love of freedom, these unyoked slaves would serve a most useful purpose in relieving our soldiers from the duties of garrison life.

From The Times.

The Secretary of War, with provident eye to the heats of summer, and the necessity of holding forts and arsenals in places where the yellow fever demon will enlist, for three or four months, on the side of the rebels, has, we are told, conceived the possibility of using negro soldiery for garrison duty. The blacks, thoroughly acclimated, will be saved from the risks of climate; while in the well defined limit of fortifications they will be restrained from the commission of those revengeful excesses which are the bug-a-boos of the Southern people. And, indeed, we hardly know why so much care should be taken of those same Southern nerves, seeing the merciless readiness of the rebels to turn upon us the Indian savages of the South-west. But there is an argument for the use of the negro troops sufficient to acquit Mr. Stanton of sympathy with Garrison Abolitionism. Experience pro

all its slaves, and has fallen into the hands of his brother-in-law, who went from Delaware to occupy it. Indeed, slave flights are the rule now in all the Counties of this State, and if the present state of things continues it will be sufficient to uproot slavery in Maryland; but matters will not stand still. There is an impelling power behind, which will speedily extinguish the curse in this State. Mr. White's committee of nine will urge forward the march of liberty.

The repopulation of Virginia in the rear of our victorious armies, by settlers from the free States, has already begun. Buyers of lands at and in the vicinity of Manassas have appeared, but they experience a difficulty in purchases. The real owners are chiefly rebels, and are fugitives from their possessions. Of course, purchases will not be made of any but the owners, and they must be loyal to ensure future protection to the transactions. The result will be, in the absence of loyal owners, that strangers will take possession in the manner of the squatters of the West, and leave to the future the settlement of title, which will doubtless be confirmed to the new holders in process of time. In this way, and in various other ways, the deserted wastes of Eastern Virginia will be reoccupied by a people who will make them blossom as a rose, and who will afford protection and remunerative employment to the colored laboring classes whom the war will have emancipated.

The country will never cease thanking President Lincoln for assuming the active command-in-chief of our armies, when it shall come to know, as it will in due time, the dangers which he has rescued it from. If it were proper, I could tell you and your readers how, even in the past ten days, the President's watchful eye has warded off instant dangers of the most threatening kind. But let us wait till after the rebellion is crushed, and then we may talk over the past without fear of the future. Meantime, let us rejoice that the President stands upon the walls, assisted by the War Committee, and that he has an eye to the within as well as the without.

The following actual incidents will show how the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, now regarded as certain, is beginning to work even in Baltimore. A slaveholder was reading Mr. Morrill's bill, just passed the Senate, at breakfast, in the hearing of two of his slave boys about twelve years of age. The one said to the other, loud enough to be heard: "Let's go to Washington—we be free then!" After breakfast a neighbor came in to talk about the subject, and, as usual, he was much excited, though he was not a slaveholder. The master took it very coolly, to the astonishment of his angry neighbor. No amount of abuse of the Republicans could disturb the slaveholder. At last, the non-slaveholder burst out: "Do you think a negro's testimony as good as a white man's?" "There's many a negro whose word I would take in preference to some white men's oath." "I'm done with you," said the slaveless interlocutor—"you are a good enough Abolitionist for me." "What's that to you? I *am* an Abolitionist. Now make the most of it."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

REMOVAL.

THE office of THE STANDARD will be removed, on or before the first of May, to No. 48 Beekman st., a few doors below William.

THE ACCOMPLISHED VICTORIES.

THERE seems to be a general instinct all over the nation that we are about to pass the crises of the distemper which now rends it with pangs of suffering and with boding fears even worse than they. Very possibly before this sheet is laid before our readers they will know the best or the worst that the impending moment can bring forth. A deadly encounter of forces is imminent and inevitable on the historical battle-field of Yorktown. Gen. McClellan has now to meet in the field Gen. Johnston, whose siege of Washington and blockade of the Potomac for the past winter, with far inferior forces, and whose withdrawal from Manassas without the loss of a man or a gun, have placed him alongside of the chiefest commanders of the age. With the splendid army under his command, encouraged by the victories in the West, we trust that the Union General may be more than a match for his veteran antagonist; but we cannot assume it as a necessary and unavoidable consequence of their encounter. Then, again, Gen. Grant will have to meet his routed foe once again at Corinth, before his victory is really and perfectly complete. And in the recesses of the Norfolk harbor lurks the mysterious Merrimac, like some dragon or monster of fable or romance, the more feared because her powers of mischief are matters of guess-work rather than of calculation. "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*," and "*pro terribili*," as well. Our fears, as well as our admirations, are in proportion to the ignorance in which we are of the actual splendor or power of what excites the one or the other.

Should all things go as we could wish, should the Northern troops under McClellan storm the works at Yorktown, as the Americans and French did in 1781, and compel another surrender or a disastrous flight, should Grant complete the rout of Beauregard's army at Corinth, and should the Merrimac be destroyed or disabled by the armed opposites arrayed against her, there can be no doubt that the heart of the Rebellion will have been reached, and that its longer life would be but a slow process of death. Nothing would then be necessary but to proceed to take possession of Richmond, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans and Memphis, and hold them by the strong hand, governing the region within reach of our armies, as Tennessee is now governed, by a Governor appointed by the President. That magistrate having already done for that State what has been gravely pronounced an impossibility, he will only have to go on doing the impossible until the revolted States are ready for submission. And we may be sure that he will do it, for it is the only thing that he can do. Should, unhappily, another turn be given to our affairs, and Johnston and Beauregard, or his successor, if his oft-announced death be indeed a fact, prove more than a match for our Generals, or, which were even worse, should the Merrimac destroy the mailed champions we have set in array against her and rush out to sea to breathe flame and death along the coast, even then all would not be lost for us. The vast energies of the country, which were never suspected by itself until this necessity called them into action, would rally at once and provide the men and the mechanical genius demanded by the hour. It would be a calamity as postponing the final triumph of the National arms and involving fresh expenditures of treasure and more precious lives, but it would not be a ruinous calamity. Perhaps, even, it might be seen, in the end, to be a blessing in disguise, as the defeat at Bull Run is already acknowledged to have been.

Whatever may be the temporary result in the field, or on the ocean, two moral victories have been won, which cannot be lost again, the effects of which will be felt in the whole future history of our country. Of course, we mean the passage of the Resolution recommended by the President, offering assistance to States wishing to rid themselves of slavery, and that of the Act abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia. These do not look like mighty matters, and yet they may well be set in the balance against even a general defeat. For they mean much more than their words imply, and open the gate of the future, through which we may gain a glimpse of the only state of things to come which can make amends for the losses and sufferings of this war. A President has ventured to intimate in a public message that slavery is a thing which it may, by possibility, be worth the while of those possessing it to be rid of. And two Houses of Congress have, by large majorities, freed the Capital of the Nation of the crime, the curse, the infamy of enduring slavery on its soil. Mighty portents, these! They tell of great changes already wrought in the mind and heart of the Nation and of greater yet at hand. No one who has not been engaged in the Anti-Slavery Movement for the last quarter of a century, and who has not watched the hopings against hope and the desperate persistencies of that often baffled and unequal conflict, can realize how much is implied in these two public acts. The crevice is made in the dyke which the South had built so carefully and kept so cunningly in repair to hinder the tide of anti-slavery feeling and opinion from bursting in upon the realm it had set apart for slavery to enjoy it forever. It is not in the nature of moral, any more than of natural, forces to diminish the strain upon the weakest part of the resistance offered to their prevalence, but to increase it until it carries all before it. Hence the far-seeing wisdom, or the selfish instinct of self-preservation, which made the slaveholders forbid the least approach to their defences, knowing that the first impression made upon them would be equivalent to their destruction. And hence, too, the opposition of the slaveholding and pro-slavery parties, in and out of Congress, to the accomplishment of these public acts—not less passionate than if slavery had been immediately, instead of indirectly, struck at.

In all this we believe that many of the co-workers were building better than they knew. They yielded to the impulse which has been growing stronger and stronger for years, and which will be satisfied with nothing short of the destruction of slavery, without fully comprehending the scope of its sway. They were instruments in the hands of that divinity which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may. Be that as it may, the thing done and the thing portended remain all the same, matters of history and of hope. We think that both the lovers and the haters of slavery err as to the immediate possibilities of current events. The old pro-slavery partisans who had pursued the triumph and partaken the gale of slaveholding successes, and who long for the return of those golden days, flatter themselves that if the rebels be not beaten too much, they will kindly condescend to forgive us and to return to rule over us as of old time. The earnest anti-slavery men, on the other hand, dread what the others hope for as the possible ending of this contest. We have ourselves often presented the necessary consequences of an actual restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*. We have shown how worse than thrown away would be all the blood and treasure which the war has cost, if the revolted States could be prevailed upon to return and join hands with their old allies and reassume their dominion over us. But the longer the war lasts, the less the possibility of such an ending of it. If victorious, of course they will spurn any such adjustment. If defeated, it will be long before they will be in a mood to fall into line even with their ancient auxiliaries. It is taken for granted that a successful suppression of the rebellion in the open field would be followed by an immediate return to the old state of things and of feeling. This we do not think conformable to human nature or human experience. Even in Tennessee we see how far the State is from being restored to its former condition. Should open resistance be subdued, a large passive resistance would be opposed to the predominance of the United States government. In the Gulf States, certainly, nothing but military occupation can keep them nominally in the Union for a long time to come. The political supremacy of slavery we hope and believe can never be restored. In the meantime, slavery is becoming every day more and more of a burden, and less and less of a source of wealth. When slavery shall have ceased to be the means of making Presidents and of making fortunes, we may believe that even the most stiff-necked of its worshippers may consent to accept the hand of the Nation held out to them for their helping. This may be, it probably is, the appointed way of our escape from the predicament in which our fathers' crime and our own have placed us. Not a triumphant arch, indeed, through which a bannered host might march, but a narrow postern through which we may sneak to our deliverance. But if we be delivered, we will accept the way, conscious that, if it be not as grand and magnificent as it might be, it is quite as good as we deserve.

CORRUPTION OF RELIGION BY SLAVERY.

THE extensive and deep-seated depravation which the religion of this country has suffered, through its alliance with slavery, can be clearly demonstrated to any one who will look at the evidence. The members of the popular Churches almost invariably *refuse* to look at it. The mass of the population (called by church-members "the world") pass it by unnoticed, because they feel neither responsibility for it nor interest in it.

The very interesting letter of our Beaufort correspondent, Rev. N. R. Johnston (in THE STANDARD three weeks ago), unveils one of the cheats which slaveholding church-members have been accustomed to practise upon the Northern people. When charged with the wickedness of making and enforcing laws to prevent their slaves from reading the Bible, they replied—We read the Bible to them at home, and they hear it read and explained on the Sabbath, in the churches.

Mr. Johnston is now in the very region where Dr. Nehemiah Adams manufactured his "South-side View," giving such be-eautiful and pathetic descriptions of the exceeding happiness of the slaves. According to Parson Adams, the pious slaves were not only absolutely contented, and unfeignedly pious, but they added to their faith virtue, and to their virtue knowledge. How much *knowledge* the slave church-members in Beaufort had of the Bible, we find from Mr. Johnston's interviews with them. When he read some of the directly anti-slavery portions of it to an old colored man, deacon in the Episcopal Church, the deacon seemed perfectly astonished. Said he—"And dat is de law of de Lord? Dem parts we neber hear read to us."

We knew already what the *preaching* to slaves was, not only from the testimony of Frederick Douglass and other sufferers under it, but from a trustworthy white witness, Dr. Nelson, author of the well-known work on Infidelity, published by the American Tract Society. After a residence of more than forty years in North Carolina, and an intimate acquaintance with slavery, he says—

"I say what I know when I speak in relation to this matter. I have been intimately acquainted with the religious opportunities of the slaves—in the constant habit of hearing the sermons that are preached to them. And I solemnly affirm that, during the forty years of my residence and observation in this line, I never heard a single one of these sermons but what was taken up with the obligations and duties of slaves to their masters. Indeed I never heard a sermon to slaves but what made obedience to masters by the slaves the fundamental and supreme law of religion. Any candid and intelligent man can decide whether such preaching is not, as to religious purposes, *worse than none at all*."

Of course, the private reading of the Bible to slaves is made as *select* as the preaching. What wonder that an old man, who had all his life been under *oral* Biblical instruction, had never heard one of the many anti-slavery portions of Scripture. At home and at church alike, the slaves hear constantly repeated—Servants, obey your masters—with the addition of the impudent falsehood that "servants" means *slaves*, and that this is God's special message to *them*. And the Northern Churches and clergy have always helped these deceptions, by fraternizing with the deceivers as Christians.

To give an idea of the sort of religion illustrated by the Episcopal Church in Beaufort, Mr. Johnston mentions the case of Samson, a slave of Rev. J. R. Walker, D.D., Rector of the rich and fashionable Episcopalian Church in that place. On the night of the flight from Beaufort, Walker, the parson, came into Samson's house at midnight, tore his wife and children out of bed, and dragged them away with him. This Mr. Johnston had from the lips of the bereaved husband and father.

It is true that the laws and customs of the Southern States allow the slaveholders to do this. That is bad enough. But our point is, the Southern *Churches* equally allow it. Nay, more. They have made a rule that the slave husbands and wives may marry again and again after such separations, while their former partners remain living. The Savannah River Association (very near Beaufort) voted this enormous wickedness, and gave this reason for it: "The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely *without their consent* and *beyond their control* than by such separation." And all the Episcopal Churches of the North tacitly agree to this rule and custom, and fraternize with those who practise it as with *Christians!*

We have lately seen mentioned in the newspapers the fact that the British and Foreign Bible Society have voted to offer two thousand pounds sterling to the American Bible Society, as a mark of Christian sympathy under the pecuniary straits which they suppose the latter to be suffering.

Our "religious" newspapers publish the correspondence (or, more accurately speaking, the permitted portion of it) between the two societies; and from the reply to this generous offer we learn that the American Society is *not* straitened, nor in need; that "a marked Providence in the extraordinary receipts from legacies and generous contributions from other sources, has brought to the treasury such relief as to enable the Board to meet the demands upon it for the current year without embarrassment"; and that therefore "they do not deem it proper in their present circumstances to receive *directly* this proffered aid."

The terms of the American Society's reply are rather cooler that a courteous and friendly letter, enclosing an offer of ten thousand dollars, might be expected to call forth; but a note, in *italic* letters, appended to the published correspondence, tells us that—

"*A further explanatory letter was also sent by the Secretary of the American Bible Society to Mr. Bergne.*"

This additional letter, which the American Bible Society prefer not to have published here, no doubt suggests some method by which they may *indirectly* get the benefit of the ten thousand dollars. We feel sure that that letter is an admirable specimen of rhetorical skill; and, partly from the desire of studying so fine a model—partly, no doubt, from the taste for forbidden fruit which we have inherited from our great-great-grandmother—and partly from a wish to understand the precise motives of the Board of Managers who (substantially) *constitute* the Bible Society—we beg the Secretary of the British and Foreign Society (or any friend who may see the letter published in England) to send us a copy.

Our readers have heretofore had spread before them abundant and conclusive evidence of the pro-slavery character of the American Bible Society. We have had such demonstration of the sympathy of its officials, North and South, with the "peculiar institution," that on reading Mr. Johnston's letter we turned to the last Annual Report of the Bible Society, to see if the reverend seignor who robbed Samson of his wife and children figured among them. And, in fact, there we found him. The Rev. Dr. J. R. Walker, of Beaufort District, South Carolina, is a Life Member of the American Society, and is President of the Beaufort District Auxiliary. Perhaps, when he carried off Samson's wife and children, he gave a parting example of *oral* Biblical instruction by quoting that important passage—Servants, obey your masters.

Until the rebellion of the Southern States commenced, the American Bible Society (like the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) had manifestly adopted the policy of practically favoring slavery whenever it was brought into question, as, on the whole, the best means of preserving that popular favor which keeps their treasury supplied. Until the rebellion commenced, probably not one in a hundred of the Officers, Managers, Standing Committees and Life Directors of the Bible Society even thought of the slaveholding relation of their associates in those positions as anything objectionable. Probably not one in a hundred of them would have refrained from buying, selling and holding slaves, and treating them as it was customary to treat them in Beaufort, if he had gone to live there. They have been accustomed, all their lives, not only to tolerate slaveholding among ministers and church-members, but to make bitter complaints against the Abolitionists for interfering with it. And if the proportional number of these pious Northern defenders of slavery is now somewhat lessened, it is owing to circumstances entirely apart from any influence of the Bible Society, or of the Churches to which they respectively belong.

We have made some progress in this country in relation to slavery, namely, an advance from the position of absolute maintenance of it to the position of questioning whether it shall not give place to gradual or immediate emancipation. This change is due, not in the slightest degree to the Churches, or to the preaching of the mass of clergymen in the popular sects, or to the numerous "revivals of religion," but to the rebels, who have been demonstrating, on the great Southern black-board, the pernicious influence of slavery, so as to compel more and more Northern people to see it. But these questions are now coming up for debate and settlement: Shall slavery be continued in the Southern States, and protected by the government and the people, as formerly? Or shall it be discouraged, and gradually diminished? Or shall it be overthrown by the Federal armies, used for this purpose by the government, under the war power? The people, we say, are now to decide upon these matters.

As far as the individuals holding the position of Officers, Managers, Standing Committees and Life Directors of the American Bible Society are concerned, their influence will undoubtedly go towards settling this matter as nearly as possible upon the old basis. The great majority of them would undoubtedly vote that the rebellion should be put down without disturbing the slaveholding relation; and when this is found impossible, the same majority would undoubtedly vote that measures towards emancipation should be gradual, *very* gradual, and by no means immediate. They cannot possibly (thanks to Jefferson Davis) restore slavery precisely as it was; but they will do all they can towards it.

Under these circumstances, is Christianity promoted in the world, is the cause of Christ helped, is human welfare advanced by putting money into the hands of these men? Our conviction is, that if they get hold, by the *indirect* means proposed, of the liberal donation of the British Society, that money will do harm rather than good. Our conviction is, that the many excellent men who wish to circulate the Bible had better do it by any other means than through the agency of this Society. Our conviction is that its official masters and controllers have been as false to the interests of true Christianity as Secretary Floyd was to the interests of the United States government; and that the giving of money to them on account of their experience, or their financial talent, or their established basis and routine of operations, would be a waste of that sum, a diversion of it from the right purpose, as really as the giving it to him for the same reasons. They have been as false to Christ as Floyd was to his country.

OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT, by his allusion to the circumstances attending the discontinuance of Mrs. Martineau's letters to this journal, makes it necessary for us, in order to avert the danger of being greatly misunderstood by our friends on the other side of the water, to offer a few words of explanation.

In the first place, we must say, emphatically, that we have not made the honest differences between ourselves and our British coadjutors in respect to questions of international law and American policy a ground or occasion for doubting their fidelity to the slave. If "some Abolitionists" on this side of the water have been uncharitable enough to do this, we know not who they are. The differences alluded to are readily enough accounted for without any such impeachment, and we should be ashamed of ourselves if we had even for an instant harbored a doubt of their faithfulness for a reason so inadequate. We make no exception in the case of Mrs. Martineau. Some of her letters gave us great pain, but our dissatisfaction with them did not cancel in our minds the respect and gratitude due to her on account of her past services to the anti-slavery cause. To all that our correspondent says on this point we yield our hearty and grateful assent; and we have no doubt that she will serve the cause in time to come with unabated earnestness and fidelity. But in spite of all this her letters on the Trent affair were very offensive to us and to American Abolitionists generally. If some Englishman not identified in any way with the anti-slavery cause, and having no special claims upon our gratitude, had united such misconception of American affairs with such a tone of lofty superiority, we might have been annoyed and even offended, but we *could* not have been pained, disappointed and mortified as we were by Mrs. Martineau's letters. The sting was in the very fact that she was an eminent Abolitionist; this it was that made us blush in the presence of our enemies as we read from her pen words which no foreigner could properly address to Americans at such a time.

As to the "sudden popularity" of John Bright among American Abolitionists, it does not rest on the supposition that he is an Abolitionist, but upon the fact that, *not* being such, he yet had sagacity to discern the true state of things in America, and the boldness to defend before his countrymen the cause of the North against the South. As we do not, on account of what has happened, any the less confide in Mrs. Martineau as a true friend of the slave, so on the other hand we do not rank Mr. Bright as an Abolitionist, nor count upon his cooperation with us in our efforts to abolish slavery.

If our parting words to Mrs Martineau were lacking in courtesy, we think our correspondent, if he will look again at the letter in which she closed her correspondence with us, will confess that we had some excuse in the disparaging terms she chose to employ in characterizing our position in the Trent affair. She charged us, it will be remembered, with "descending from the lofty patriotism" by which we had "secured the sympathy and service" of British Abolitionists, to fall behind the American government in "defending or excusing an outrage condemned by all Christendom," and to say, practically, "Our country, right or wrong." This impeachment was alike sweeping and unjust. Is it strange that we repelled it with firmness?

PARSON BROWNLOW—A CHARACTERISTIC SPEECH.

OUR readers are all familiar with the name of the Rev. William G. Brownlow, commonly called "Parson Brownlow," of Knoxville, Tenn., where he has long been conspicuous as a political editor and Methodist preacher. He has always been distinguished as a supporter of slavery and a hater of the Abolitionists, upon whose heads he has rained columns of vulgar, not to say profane, abuse. To his credit be it said, however, he has always been opposed to the sham Democracy, and when the rebellion broke out, he denounced it and its authors, in his paper, with a power of vituperation almost without parallel, thereby subjecting himself to persecution, imprisonment, and almost death. After the Union victories in Tennessee, the rebels, afraid to either liberate or kill him, allowed him to come North. In Cincinnati, so strong was the public sympathy with him on account of his trials, and so high the appreciation of his courage in resisting the schemes of the rebels, that the whole community united to do him honor. The Methodist clergy of the city assembled at the Book Room to greet him, and he made them a speech so characteristic, and so accurately descriptive of the religion of the South, that we cannot resist the temptation to give our readers an extract:

"This thing called secession originated in falsehood, theft and perjury. Floyd did the stealing, the masses of the people did the lying, and fourteen United States Senators from the cotton States the perjury. While in the Senate in the daytime they made a show of keeping their oaths, but at night they held their secret caucuses, planning secession and advising their leaders to seize the prominent forts of the South and arms of importance wherever they could find them. I have no doubt there are better men in hell or in the penitentiaries of this or any other State than the prominent leaders in this secession movement. And I am sorry to say that the worst class of men now in the Southern Confederacy are the Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian preachers. High functionaries in the Episcopalian Church are now drinking and swearing. Men who have met in our General Conferences with some of these aged brethren whom I now see around me, preach as chaplains on Sabbath, but swear and get drunk through the week. A Presbyterian minister in Knoxville invited all denominations to hold a union prayer meeting, to pray to the Lord to sink Burnside's fleet and raise Lincoln's blockade. And at it they went, composed of many old clerical rips, who besieged a throne of grace, raising their hands, heaving and setting like an old Tennessee ram at a gate post, that God would send lightning and storm and raise the blockade. And the Lord did give them a raise—at Roanoke Island, and with that kind of lightning and storm which they did not expect in answer to prayer. I also heard a Presbyterian minister in Knoxville make use of the following words on the Lord's day, which I will give to show the degradation of the pulpit. In the course of his remarks he stated that Jesus Christ was a Southern man, and all of his apostles were Southern men, save Judas, who was from the North, and that he would sooner read a text from a Bible bound in hell than from one printed and bound north of Mason and Dixon's line. I regard the Churches in the South ruined, and financially they are in a bad fix. I came across Dr. McFerran about seventy miles from Nashville, trying to run away; but his horse wouldn't work. He traded the horse for a mule, but the mule wouldn't work. When I left him he was standing on the street, in company with his wife and children, looking for another trade. Huston, Sehon and Baldwin were still in Nashville, adhering to secession. The citizens of Nashville could but note the contrast, and expressed their opinions in regard to the superiority of the officers and soldiers of the Federal army over those of the Confederate. The former were well dressed and well-behaved, and did not insult citizens nor ladies upon the streets, while, on the contrary, the vagabonds of the Confederate army stole everything upon which they could lay their hands, and drove peaceable citizens from their homes. While there were some honorable exceptions in the Confederate army, strange to say, it seemed to be mostly composed of the off-scouring of the land; swearing, lewd fellows of the most degraded possible character. I had a hard time among them, and was satisfied that they intended to execute me. I owe my escape to the fact that for a long time I had been an editor, and to a great extent had gained the confidence of the people."

"TOUCHING A TENDER POINT."

IN the London *Inquirer* of March 29th we find a letter from the Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., of Charlestown, Mass., one of the most eminent Unitarian divines, of the conservative school, in this country, "administering a sharp rebuke" to the editor of that journal, the organ of British Unitarianism, for what he has published respecting the war now raging in the United States. While candor constrains us to say that we think the rebuke, in most respects, well deserved and well administered, there is one point in respect to which we think Dr. Ellis is wholly in the wrong. That point is brought into view in the following extract from his letter:

"Will you allow me to add a few more equally frank and well meant words touching a tender point? I am happily ignorant of your age. But if you do not remember you will have heard, that about a score of years ago some of our English Unitarian brethren sent engrossed epistles to us, with ostensibly kind and fraternal intent, but really rebuking and censorious, touching our supposed faithlessness in reference to the sin of slavery. The result was that many of us felt aggrieved. Setting aside the obvious suggestion that we knew the burden of your national sins was fully equal to that of ours, some of us thought that you assumed self-righteous airs, and felt that you were swifter to insinuate blame against your brethren than anxious to inform yourselves about facts. For myself, I would not participate in receiving or in replying to those epistles, for I was too well informed about the circumstances which prompted them; and I objected to the assumption by you that any one of your ministerial brethren here failed to act in the light of his own conscience by the dictates of his best wisdom. Since that correspondence, I believe in consequence of it, there has been a steady decline of the intimacy and intercourse between our brethren on either side of the water. Many of our ministers and laymen who have since visited England, and who while there might have yearned for brotherly sympathy with fellow-believers, have passed through your bounds and returned home without having made themselves known to one of you. Why was it so?"

To this the editor of *The Inquirer* thus responds:

"Dr. Ellis refers to the anti-slavery letters sent from this country. We were told by some of our transatlantic friends that our admonitions were groundless, since New England was as little concerned with slavery as Old England; but events have confirmed our judgment. The miseries in which the whole Union has been involved through slavery have sadly answered the objections made to us. We believe that if the Northern Church had been more faithful in its rebukes of slavery, many of the worst inroads of the slaveocracy would have been defeated. The South would have been taught its weakness, as well as its sin, and would never have committed itself to a course to which now it is pledged in blood. How glorious it would have been had those measures of emancipation, which are now proposed in the desperation of war, been brought forward in times of tranquillity, through the desire to fulfil the law of Christ by sharing each other's burdens—if the treasures now squandered in bloodshed had been freely offered as the redemption of the enslaved. We need regret nothing that we have done to stimulate our brethren to put from them their national curse. We have Dr. Ellis's own acknowledgment—that English sympathy for the principle of liberty was not without its effect; and a letter from our friend, Mr. Frederick Douglass, implies that it has not been in vain that England rebuked the Republicans for their want of fidelity to that principle.

"It is due to many who signed those letters to say, that they did it in no self-righteous spirit: that they were prominent rebukers of our own many and grievous national sins, that they would have rejoiced to have had the sympathy of their American brethren in their protests and struggles. In the horror which the Fugitive Slave law excited in England, a few societies passed resolutions which seemed to preclude brotherly communion with any but its avowed opponents; these, however, were not generally acceptable, and we were not aware that they kept our esteemed brethren from visiting us. On the contrary, some ministers and laymen who have passed through England without giving us a greeting were well-known friends of freedom; whilst others, of whom we have seen more, were conservative. We supposed that the former were chiefly influenced by personal convenience. We are very sorry if it be the case, that the interchange of courtesies is on the wane. Before these letters passed, many of our brethren seemed to avoid us, and we have sometimes feared that our thinly-attended Nonconformist chapels had few attractions for those who had known Unitarianism as a powerful and respected denomination."

We are not a little surprised that Dr. Ellis took the occasion afforded by such a correspondence to rebuke his British brethren for their efforts, many years ago, to incite American Unitarians to the adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery. His recent utterances led us to hope that the rebellion of the slaveholders had opened his eyes and those of many others belonging to the same denomination to the mistake that they made in not promptly and gratefully heeding the admonitions of their brethren across the water. If, instead of complaining of their action upon this "tender point," he had taken occasion to confess his sin in taking offence under deserved rebuke for neglecting the slave's cause, we are sure that his efforts to correct the mistakes of British Unitarians in respect to the rebellion would have made a far deeper impression.

The remonstrances against slavery which British Unitarians have occasionally sent to their brethen in this country, so far from indicating a censorious or self-righteous spirit, were exceedingly mild in their censures, and not less fraternal in tone than philanthropic in purpose. That Unitarian ministers and laymen in this country were thereby offended, affords conclusive evidence of their complicity with slavery, and that their sympathies were rather with the slaveholders than the slaves. Well does *The Inquirer* say, that "if the Northern Church had been more faithful in its rebukes of slavery, many of the worst inroads of the slavocracy would have been defeated." If that Church, instead of resisting and anathematising the Anti-Slavery Movement, had welcomed it and cooperated with it, the moral power of the country would have been adequate to the peaceful abolition of slavery, and we should have been saved from the calamities and horrors of rebellion and civil war. If the class of men with which Dr. Ellis is prominently identified had not failed to rebuke slavery and prostituted their influence to the support of the accursed Fugitive Slave law, they would never have taken offence under the mild rebukes of their British brethren. On them, and such as them, rests a fearful weight of responsibility for the crimes and woes under which the land now groans.

PROPOSED CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A CALL for a National Christian Convention at Washington, in the month of May, after the following form, has been somewhat extensively circulated. But the responses have not been such as to justify the further prosecution of arrangements therefor at present. On this account it is deferred until such time and place as mature deliberation and united counsels shall prescribe. Until then let there be interchange of views among the advocates of such a proposition. H. T. C.

"The undersigned ministers and members of different branches of the Christian Church, believing that the times demand that Christians as such, out of loyalty to Christ the King, and as true patriots, without distinction of sect or party, should assume their full share of responsibility in public affairs, and especially that they should bear a Christian part in the settlement of the great moral and political question of Emancipation, on grounds of eternal Right and Justice, hereby unite in calling a National Christian Convention, to be holden at the city of Washington, to deliberate, and, if it shall seem good, to submit to the government what is now, in their view, the demand of Christianity and the Church in reference to the Emancipation of the enslaved millions of our colored countrymen, in the present peculiar and transition state of our national affairs. And a general Convention of loyal Christians from the different Churches and religious bodies of the nation is hereby invited."

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

We are not "among the advocates of the proposition" above referred to, but as we have been asked to give place to the card of "H. T. C.," we hope not to be thought impertinent if we venture to express our "views." We say then, in all frankness, that we hope no such Convention as the above call would probably bring together will be held. If the recognized leaders of the American Churches, penitent in view of their past complicity with slavery and their persistent hostility to the beneficent cause of emancipation, should summon to Washington a Convention under such a call, we should rejoice thereat with exceeding joy, for it would be a sign that the day of universal freedom for this country had dawned. Such a Convention, speaking in the name of the American Churches, would indeed exert a potent influence upon the government and the people. But a Convention of proscribed ministers and laymen, with no title to represent the Churches, but stubbornly repudiated by them, would, in our judgment, be likely to do as much harm as good. Such a Convention could have no influence but that derived from the personal character of its members, and would only discourage the government by putting its weakness and leanness in contrast with the mighty pro-slavery power of the popular Churches and Pulpits of the land.

An Anti-Slavery Convention in Washington, in order to exert an effective influence upon the government and the nation, should be open, without distinction, to *all* the friends of the slave. An attempt to discriminate, in such a case, between church-members and non-church members, would be alike invidious and absurd, and an affront to the spirit of liberty, which holds all such distinctions, at such a time as this, in utter contempt. A proposition to hold a Convention at Washington, unfettered by any discrimination of this sort, and embracing on equal terms all the earnest opponents of slavery, has already been entertained by friends of the cause in Boston and New York, in whose wisdom we place the utmost confidence. If they shall deem it best to summon to the Capital the friends and champions of emancipation, we will gladly do all in our power to promote the object.

RIGHTEOUS REBUKE.—The Rev. Dr. Guthrie, the most eloquent preacher in all Scotland, in the course of an address before the Dundee Chamber of Commerce, made this incidental allusion to the United States:

"The pride and haughtiness of our Transatlantic cousins had before the war become very ridiculous and intolerable. Just think (he said) of a people that hold four million of their fellow-creatures in chains—four million of human beings in chains!—and sell them by the pound. Well, I say, for a country such as that to talk of itself as standing in the van of freedom—in the van of freedom!—and waving over four million in chains the vaunted flag with the motto, 'All men are born free!' is not that a mockery? (Applause.) After all, I am not sorry that the wind should be taken out of them (laughter). There was a friend of mine who, talking of another man who was rather vain, said, 'Oh, he is a mere windbag.' Now, I must say our friends in America are rather like a windbag (laughter)—but I am sorry that it should be the knife that is being used to take the wind out of them. I am free to confess that we do like to see a vain people a little humbled. We have no hatred towards America; I am sure it would be well for Dundee if peace were restored in that country; and God grant that it may be soon. But I heartily say, that I for one would say, 'No peace' so long as there is slavery in America. Slavery in America! God send no peace till that evil, that cancer, is thrust out of their land! I have no hesitation in saying that; but I hope in God's blessed Providence that the grand result of these troubles will be freedom to the slave. We have heard of fasts in America; the fast I want President Lincoln to proclaim is that fast which God says he hath chosen, 'to break the bonds of wickedness, and to let the oppressed go free'" (loud applause).

AT a stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March 13th, 1862, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the widely extended and hearty sympathy in the efforts now being made by our fellow-citizens, without distinction of ecclesiastical denomination or political party, in behalf of the slaves freed by the advancing armies of the United States, and by the retreat of their rebel masters; and in the action of Congress and the Executive, in forbidding military and naval officers to return fugitive slaves, in abolishing the slave-pens of the District of Columbia, and, also, in attempting to initiate various schemes of emancipation, this Society sees the results of the anti-slavery labor of the last thirty years, and a most encouraging token that the hour is at hand when the great cause which has so long been the peculiar care of Abolitionists will be adopted and cherished as the cause of the American nation. SARAH PUGH, President.

GULIELMA M. JONES, Secretary.

THE REBELLION RECORD, Part XV., brings the Diary of Events down to Nov. 23, and contains the Documents bearing date in October. The poetry, incidents, rumors, etc., fill twenty pages. Portraits of Gov. Andrew and Lieut. Wm. Lowell Putnam are prefixed. New York: G. P. Putnam, 532 Broadway.

Our European Correspondence.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

DUBLIN, March 22, 1862.

IN THE STANDARD for March 8, this day come to hand, I find a leader under the caption of "America's Complaint of England," which you begin with the remark that "nothing is so hard as to convert those holding opinions the opposite of our own to our own way of thinking." Your object is to show us, "in as few words as possible, the sense which the average of intelligent Americans have of the course of the English government, press and people, towards the people of the free States in their present emergency." I admit that you have done so with great moderation, but you have not brought me over to your way of thinking—for, in the words of Gerald Griffin, in his delicious poem of Kathleen and Kevin,

"I cannot feel it in my breast,
Or see it all around me."

I hear, on all hands, that the state of irritation and hostility towards us, which exists on your side, is something beyond anything known for nearly half a century—whilst I know that nothing corresponding to this intense animosity exists on this side of the water. An able correspondent of *The Spectator*, writing home from New York, says that the feeling against us is rather for what we have *not* done than for any act of hostility on our part—for acts of omission rather than acts of commission.

As to the acknowledging of the Confederates as belligerents, this was done in compliance with the policy of non-intervention in foreign quarrels to which England had been forced by her past mistakes. You will point to the declared policy of the South, and her determination to become the centre of a vast pro-slavery propaganda throughout the world. But you must admit that the uprising of the North was not by any means based upon an anti-slavery conviction, or upon any desire or determination to abolish slavery. Provided the South would return to her allegiance, the North was willing to guarantee her the undisturbed maintenance of her peculiar institution. The rebellion of the South, and the uprising of the North were, to all close observers, pretty certain to end in a death-blow to slavery. Very few intelligent Abolitionists, anywhere, have had any second opinion on this subject. But the English people rather pride themselves that they are a practical people—that they disregard theories—that they take things as they find them, and that as the Confederates were for maintaining slavery, and the Federals were not bent on abolishing it, it was no business of theirs to interfere, more especially as declarations from the North reached us, times without number, that you cared nothing for and did not want our pity, sympathy, or assistance.

There are twenty millions of people in England, divided into an infinite variety of cliques, classes, sects and parties, according to their education or their position in life. Some think most of rank, others of wealth, some of religion, others of morals. It would be surprising if a great variety of sentiment did not exist among them as to the merits of your civil war—and it is hard that all should be condemned for the mistakes of a portion of the whole people. My belief is that the government is anxious to act impartially—that the Press, with the exception chiefly of some of the London papers, is on your side—and that the majority of the people are no well-wishers to the South or to slavery. They have heard so much, since the outbreak of the civil war, of the hatred to England aroused by every step she has taken, that no one should be surprised if no great enthusiasm is exhibited on your behalf. For it is difficult for any of us to be enthusiastically in favor of those who say they hate us, and declare they will take an early opportunity to strip us of our provinces and pull down our pride. This kind of swaggering talk has filled up a great deal of space in the extracts I have seen from American papers from the free States, whilst the Southerners have shown far more discretion in this respect. They may be quite as hostile, but they don't take the present occasion to say how much they detest us.

As to the excitement on both sides about the Trent affair, it was as remarkable an instance as history records of the fact that millions of people on one side may look on the same event in one point of view, whilst millions will look on it in another. In the North, you could see nothing but the quality of Mason and Slidell, whilst on this side the whole English people regarded nothing but the quality of the

dependence far more upon the tried fidelity of the invalid authoress of "Ambleside" than the burly and eloquent Senator of Rochdale. In the regret I have expressed as to the way in which you have received Mrs. Martineau's farewell I am not alone, having heard similar opinions voluntarily expressed by several who have never had any personal intercourse with her, and who are as warm friends of the slave as any in Europe.

No one can regret more than your friends and fellow-laborers in Great Britain and Ireland, the pro-slavery tendencies of so many of our own journalists and essayists; but we cannot admit that the twenty millions of British people or their rulers are fairly chargeable with the guilt. I think, under the circumstance that so much hostility exists on your side, and that so much has been said about it, there has been remarkably slight manifestation, except in the press, of a corresponding feeling on this side. As far as I know only one public meeting was held in Liverpool, and one public dinner was given in London in the interest of the Confederates. I have, on the other hand, been reliably assured that the Lancashire manufacturers and their men have evinced a warm desire that the North should not be interfered with in their blockade, on the express grounds that the cause of the North is that of liberty. I was told by a gentleman that the most extensive manufacturer in Lancashire, who employs 3,500 men, said he would rather be left without a man than that the slaveholders should be encouraged at the expense of the slave—or to that effect.

It is extremely painful to me that I should appear to differ from my American friends, but it is better to risk the loss of their regard than of my own self-respect. I am sure if we could talk face to face, apparent difficulties would be much more readily reconciled; and probably the fact that the two nations speak the same tongue leads to a greater amount of misunderstanding, since the distance between us enables mistakes to arise and take root with greater rapidity than would be the case if decidedly separated by difference of language also. Oh that we could have an electric telegraph between London and Washington. How much ill-blood, waste of treasure and mutual recrimination would have been spared to two great and kindred nations!

This war of yours has been called a "cruel war," "fratricidal," "uncalled for," "merciless," etc. These may be said of nearly all wars, but as far as I know, such epithets are less applicable to the Northern army than to any other which ever existed. I have never read of any great army so civilized, so disinterested, or more unselfish, and therefore I have the more hope that whenever the war is over its existence may not produce the dangerous consequences to your liberties which might be reasonably apprehended if it were differently constituted.

A book on the "American Union," by James Spence, a Liverpool cotton broker, is now going through a third edition. It is full of the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi*, and is one of the ablest, craftiest and most dishonest books I ever met with. It is studiously suited to the English taste, being moderate in tone, lucid in style, and free from all personalities. It is entirely in the Southern interest, full of hpocritical hostility to slavery, smooth-tongued, oily and insidious. For an example of his style, in a letter he wrote to *The Times* last Tuesday, the author speaks of "the political murder of the miserable man Gordon," leaving it to the reader to find out that Gordon was one of the most ruthless of slave-traders, that he was a Northern man, and was hanged for multiplied murders. Again, to show the animus of the Northern Generals, he says one of them called one of the Southern Generals "a thief." But he omits to say that the man he spoke of was Floyd, who is, perhaps, the most stupendous thief of which history makes mention.

It is undoubted, as you say, that the Southern tendency of *The Times, Saturday Review*, etc., show that their articles must be largely acceptable—but remember the lessons we have got from tens of thousands of American travellers—remember the power of King Cotton—remember how much more skill the Southern leaders have shown in at least concealing their hostility while the fight is going on—remember how soon, after your struggle began, the Northern Press began to bully and threaten us—and I think you must admit that there is not much to wonder at, though it is indeed exceedingly to be regretted.

You cannot know and therefore cannot appreciate the efforts that have been made on this side to influence public opinion in the right direction; nor how deeply interested your friends are here in every step taken in this struggle for the abolition of slavery, in the certain assurance that, unless this be effected, the United States can never attain to that true strength, glory and greatness which, if used wisely and with modesty toward other countries, will be a beacon to the oppressed of all nations and a blessing to the world.

Yours, ever truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

MEETINGS IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

BOONTOON, N. J., April 7th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WE held additional anti-slavery meetings in Westchester County (N. Y.) after the date of my last, at Pleasantville and Katonah, and were also to have spoken at Newcastle. The commodious private school-room of the Misses Ferguson was kindly proffered for our use at Pleasantville, the Methodists (who have the only church) being unwilling to lend their countenance to "Abolitionism" to the extent of allowing us a hearing in their house. We had a quiet, good meeting, and were most hospitably welcomed by the Pierces.

Our excellent friend Dr. Fenton, at Mt. Kisco, made an appointment for us to speak at Newcastle, in a Methodist church, on Wednesday evening last. He obtained the ready consent of the majority of the trustees for the use of the church, and our appointment was published by the pastor from his pulpit on Sunday evening. A large meeting for us was anticipated. The secession "democratic" influence was busy against us in the interval, and on reaching the church at the appointed time we found it locked quite securely, and no admission for ourselves or hearers. Our contemplated meetings at Croton Lake were likewise thwarted by Methodist secession influences. Unfriendly, dishonorable dealing have Abolitionists experienced for years at the hands of pro-slavery Church people. Such conduct, continued at the present time, only serves to show the deeper depths of degradation to which the popular religion is prostituted in the unhallowed service of slavery.

At Katonah (near the Jay Homestead) we had an excellent meeting. It was not largely attended, from the brevity of the notice, but the auditors were interested, attentive, and to such it is profitable and pleasant to speak. We were cordially welcomed by Mr. Jay and family, and enjoyed very much our visit at the Homestead. There are connected therewith very many historical anti-slavery reminiscences of great interest.

In speaking of the Katonah Post-office, in my last, I find I was mistaken in saying that the new democratic appointee was the same who last held the place, although he held it under Buchanan; and also in speaking of Judge Harris as being at all responsible for the removal of Mr. Benedict.

Mr. Jay declines to allow my remark that Judge Blair was indebted to him in a considerable degree for his place in the Cabinet, which was my own conclusion from the deep and active interest which I knew Mr. Jay had felt in Judge Blair's appointment. The movement, inaugurated by Mr. Jay and others, to secure an amendment of the Post-office laws, to prevent the location of Post-offices in places where liquor is sold, is to be pressed upon Congress, and if successful, will prove a great public good. AARON M. POWELL.

COMPLIMENTARY CONCERT.—The pupils of the Cooper Union Music Class will give a grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert, complimentary to their teacher, George F. Bristow, in the large hall of the Cooper Union, on Wednesday evening, April 23d, at 7½ o'clock. The following artists have kindly consented to assist: Madam Stoepel, Miss Coleman, Miss Kissy Stoepel, Messrs. J. R. Thomas, Thos. White, F. Eben, the celebrated Flutist, Edward Boehm, the celebrated Clarionetist; also Miss Cole, Messrs. Tucker, R. J. Johnston, G. F. Clarendon and Keane. Tickets 25 cents.

THE NEXT LECTURE, in the course of People's Free Lectures, before the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association, will be delivered on Wednesday evening, the 23d inst., at 8 o'clock, at their Headquarters, No. 245 8th avenue, by THEODORE TILTON, Esq. Subject: THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Seats reserved for ladies.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1862.

LET anti-slavery men rejoice over the first step of the General government towards Universal Emancipation. There is no longer slavery in the District of Columbia! I think this will do for one week's work in the House of Representatives—for it was all done in a week—yes, *in two days*. The bill was taken up on Thursday, but not without a serious contest. As it lay upon the calendar of the Committee of the Whole, about a dozen bills were before it. Mr. Stevens of Penn. moved to take it from its place and make it the immediate subject of consideration. But the Democrats would not agree to this, insisting upon the rule which requires that each bill upon the calendar shall be acted upon in its order unless Congress otherwise directs. So each one of the bills was laid aside by a specific vote, and once or twice the yeas and nays were called. At last the District Emancipation bill was reached. Judge Thomas of Massachusetts delivered the first speech upon it. It was not, however, upon the bill before the Committee, but upon the general subject of confiscation and emancipation. It was mortifying to listen to *such* a speech from a Representative of old Massachusetts. I believe most of the other members from that State felt in this way. Here was this crochety old judge making a most piteous plea—for whom? For the tax-pressed people of his own State? For the oppressed loyal men of the South? Oh no! But this son of Massachusetts pleading for the rebels who scalped our soldiers at Pea Ridge, mutilated their remains at Manassas, and to-day would delight to be able to cut every Northerner's throat—it was for these men that Judge Thomas pleaded and wept? The Massachusetts delegation in the House is "mixed." There is a large proportion, I believe, of staunch anti-slavery men in the delegation, but the state of sentiment in the old Bay State is such as to warrant unanimity in Congress among her representatives. There are two or three, however, of the Massachusetts representatives who care very little about slavery—who are either old Whigs or old Democrats, and never had a particle of sympathy with any reform movement. If the people of Massachusetts cannot improve upon such a representation, they are not as smart in selecting representatives as they are in building railroads and factories. The most of the delegation is everything that one could wish, but in times like these old fossils are out of place, especially if they are labelled "Massachusetts."

But to go on with the history of the emancipation bill in Congress. On Friday, immediately after the journal was read, Mr. Stevens moved to go again into Committee of the Whole upon the bill, which was done. Nixon of New Jersey made a very moderate speech in favor of the bill, and Crittenden of Kentucky an ultra pro-slavery argument against confiscation and emancipation. It was like all his old speeches, saturated with pro-slavery prejudices. It seems as if the old man would learn nothing by this war. As a member of Congress said the other day, "It seems as if God Almighty could not thunder his truth loud enough to break through the old man's deafness!" And just so it is. Crittenden is loyal to the last, but pro slavery to the last also. Bingham of Ohio made the closing speech, and a very able one it was. He confined himself in the main to the bill under consideration. When he had finished, the Committee rose, terminated debate, went back into Committee again under the five minutes rule, and amendments were offered as thick as strawberries in June. There were Republicans foolish enough to offer them, well knowing if they carried they would carry the bill back to the Senate. But the majority of the House was determined on carrying the bill through just as it came from the Senate, and to pass it that night. After some opposition, *it was passed*, 93 to 39—a tremendous majority. A number of Democrats dodged the vote, but *four* voted for it. There was a single burst of applause when the vote was announced, and the House adjourned in very good humor, at least on one side of it. I suppose the pro-slavery Democrats didn't feel remarkably well, not even those who were compelled to dodge to save themselves from the fury of the people's indignation.

And now we are to try what emancipation can do for the District of Columbia. The Black Code will of course be soon swept away, and the colored man will have a tolerably fair chance here. But he will have to contend with violent prejudices, and the officials of the District will very generally act as his enemies. It is very fortunate that just now we have a Military Governor who is an ardent anti-slavery Republican. Gen. Wadsworth is the defender of the poor in Washington—their succor in the hour of need. Slave-catchers and kidnappers receive no favor from him. He has several of them in jail here now, and if any more of our white pro-slavery zealots wish to go into the business again, he will see to it that *they* are afforded comfortable apartments in one of our prisons. The old citizens of the District open their eyes with wonder at the present condition of things. They have been used so long to trample upon the colored man as one having no rights, that to see him legislated *for*, instead of *against*, astounds and confuses them!

In the meantime our colored population take the passage of the act very quietly—entirely unlike savages or monsters. The colored clergymen of the District met, a few days since, and passed the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, We have learned by the published proceedings of Congress that there is a probability of the peaceful and final abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we recommend to the Churches and congregations we represent that they set apart Sunday, the 13th day of April, 1862, in connection with the usual religious services, as a day of special prayer to Almighty God, that if this great boon of freedom is vouchsafed to our people, we may receive it in a becoming manner, and by our orderly behavior, our devotion to our Christian duties, our obedience to the laws, we may show how worthy we are to enjoy it; and that He would be pleased, in His own way and in His own time, to proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

In no portion of the District has there been an outbreak, not even a single insolent word, that I have heard of, from a colored to a white man because of the passage of the bill. Yet some of our oldest and most respectable citizens were apprehensive of dreadful results if emancipation were to take place, and they took the pains to tell the President and some of our leading legislators so.

There is one thing which Congress should take great pains to guard against, and it is the horrible crime of kidnapping. It is going on in our midst even now, and with slavery on both sides of us, and several thousands of free colored persons in the District, the business of the kidnapper will be brisk. There are numbers of men here who would like to engage in it. Take the old police force under the Buchanan Administration and Mayor Berret; one-half of them to-day would rather run off negroes than to earn their living in a respectable way. They were the terror of colored people in the District for years, and made considerable additions to their incomes by the fines imposed upon the poor negroes who got into their clutches. Against these man-devils (it is impossible to coin too harsh a word) it is the duty of Congress immediately to provide the most stringent legislation. Gen. Wadsworth just now is doing good service for the slave population, but if he should go, where are we? Marshal Lamon and such men are at the head of affairs here. We have a Southern Mayor. What would prevent the old negro-haters from resuming their detestable work? A stringent enactment imposing severe penalties upon kidnappers may do something, but our District-Attorney is a pro-slavery man. What we need is a police force that can be relied on to protect colored people in the enjoyment of their rights. They will do more than the Courts.

The progress of the war during the last two or three weeks is regarded by some of the shrewdest men at the Capital as unsatisfactory in many respects. I have not seen a single man who does not think that Mr. Stanton and the President have committed a grave blunder in issuing their proclamations for a public thanksgiving so very quickly. Mr. Stanton ordered one hundred guns fired over the victory at Pittsburg Landing before he had received a line from an official source respecting the result. And the clergymen yesterday, who gave thanks in all our churches for "our late victories," were every one of them very anxious to know whether we did really thrash the rebels in that conflict, or whether it was a drawn battle, and whether the Merrimac had spread ruin and dismay through Hampton Roads, or whether she had been sunk. How much better to wait a little, and not be in such a very great hurry to issue orders and proclamations. As for the military situation, if McClellan should achieve a great victory at Yorktown, all is well. If he should be beaten, Washington is in a very critical position. The rebels of Baltimore boast that McClellan will be destroyed at Yorktown, and that then the rebels will rush back upon Washington overland. These *boasts* are not worth much, but if I mistake not, McClellan himself begins to see that he has a worse job before him than he had at Manassas. Some of his friends here say that it is harder to take Yorktown than it was to take Manassas, and that it would have been better to have fought the rebels at the last-mentioned place. But give McClellan a fair chance. He is to fight the great battle of the war—this is inevitable. Give him all that he asks for—even confidence, and if he wins the battle, let him have all the praise he has won.

The wild stories that Seward has gone down to Corinth, to meet some agent of Jeff. Davis, was got up by some knave in this city. There is nothing in it. It would be treason, and Seward, in the first place, is no traitor, and in the second does not play a bold part as that would be. AVON.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's), in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock a.m. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be seasonably announced.

The Society will meet for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½ p.m. on Wednesday.

The object of this Society is still—as at its formation—the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil, because of its inherent sinfulness, immorality, oppression and barbarity, and its utter repugnance to all the precepts of the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine Democracy; its measures are still the same, peaceful, moral, rational, legal, constitutional; its instrumentalities are still the same—the pen, the press, the lecturing field, tracts and other publications, etc., etc., disseminating light and knowledge in regard to the tyrannical power claimed, possessed and exercised by slaveholders, the actual condition of their miserable victims, and the guilty complicity of the people of the North, religiously, politically, governmentally, with those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men"; its spirit is still the same—long-suffering, patient, hopeful, impartial, benevolent alike to the oppressor and the oppressed, zealously intent on "promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty" universally, "knowing no East, no West, no North, no South," but embracing the whole country in its charitable and humane concern, and conflicting with nothing just, honest, noble and Christian in sentiment, practice or tendency.

In regard to the struggle now going on between the government and the rebel States, this Society is unequivocally with the government, because it has done no wrong to those States, nor furnished any justification for such a treasonable procedure on their part. Yet the Society sees in this awful conflict the fulfilment of the prophetic declaration—"Ye have not proclaimed liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine"; and it trusts that, in the spirit of sincere repentance and deep humiliation, acknowledging the righteous retribution which has come upon them, THE PEOPLE will imperatively demand of the government (now that it has the constitutional right under the war power), that it forthwith decree the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, so that peace may be restored on an enduring basis, and the unity of the nation preserved through universal justice.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } Secretaries.

☞ THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its Anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 7th.

A CALL TO THIS NATION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PERHAPS the following passage may suggest some timely and instructive thoughts to the people of a nation which stands hesitating whether to do a great act of obvious justice now when every barrier to its performance has been taken away—hesitating, and hearkening to the voices of the timid and unbelieving on one hand, and of the morally vile on the other, rather than to the clear voice of God, saying, "BREAK EVERY YOKE, AND LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE."

"And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and *wept over it*, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, *at least in this thy day*, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; *because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation*."

Shall it be *our* condemnation that light has come into the world, and that we have chosen darkness rather than light?

Seall *we*, too, say, Who is the Lord, that we should obey his voice? We know not the Lord, neither will we let the people go?

Let us be wise, while for us it is called TO-DAY.

AN INCIDENT AT NEWBERN.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

AMONG the wounded in the care of the surgeon of one of the Connecticut regiments, now or lately at Newbern, N. C., is a rebel officer, taken prisoner in the battle near that place. He had charge of one of the fortifications at Newbern, and, rather than have it fall into "Union" hands, he touched fire to the magazine, which blew the works to ruins; he was himself found with one leg broken, and face and neck badly burnt, and was taken to the hospital of the regiment above named—where of course he received humane attention and treatment. He was perfectly astonished thereat, and expressed his surprise and thanks very warmly, saying that he had not expected to leave the Federal camp alive. The surgeon said to him, "Would not your people have treated us in the like manner, in a change of circumstances?" He replied, "No, I think not." The surgeon is a well-known Abolitionist, and long a reader of your paper, Mr. Editor, and the rebel officer could not have fallen into more skilful or better hands. Woe to those Northern papers and men who have long and persistently belied the North to the South, and whose wicked work yet continues.

A TRICKSTER.—Mr. Cowan, who was last year elected to the U. S. Senate by the Republican Legislature of Pennsylvania, has greatly disappointed the friends of freedom by his course in Washington, having identified himself with those whose chief anxiety appears to be to save slavery, as far as possible, from the consequences of the rebellion inaugurated in its behalf. Mr. Capron, the editor of the Chester County *Times*, says distinctly that he has seen and read a letter from Mr. Cowan, distinctly urging the passage by the State Legislature of a resolution instructing him to vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; the inference being that he wanted to have such instruction as an excuse for voting for the measure, while he could assure his Border State friends that he would not have voted for it if he had not been instructed! Comment is needless.

NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report of the American Society, entitled, *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year*, by sending a request to that effect to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 221 Washington street, Boston, and enclosing stamps sufficient to prepay the postage, viz., *fourteen cents*.

WENDELL PHILLIPS has declined the invitation of the Cincinnati Turners to lecture in their Hall. Mr. Phillips writes that he does so with the greatest reluctance, but had, before he received their letter, engaged for every night of his stay in the West.

THE VOTE FOR GRADUAL EMANCIPATION in Western Virginia, as far as the returns have come in, foots up, 5,293. In the negative only 410!

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER TO MONTGOMERY BLAIR, on the first page, sets some important truths in a very convincing light, and effectually refutes some very popular but pernicious errors.

THE CAPITAL OF THE NATION FREE!

THANKS BE TO GOD!—Just before going to press, the telegraph brings us the indescribably joyful news that the President has signed the bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. We record the fact with emotions too strong for words. "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously." Slavery shall no longer pollute the Capital of the Nation. The Abolitionists have gathered the first sheaf of their harvest. "Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The act entitled "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," has this day been approved and signed.

I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District, and I have ever desired to see the National Capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject, except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act.

In the matter of compensation, it is provided that claims may be presented within ninety days from the passage of the act, but not thereafter; and there is no saving for minors, *femmes covert*, insane, or absent persons. I presume there is an omission by mere oversight, and I recommend that it be supplied by an amendatory or supplemental act.

Washington, April 16, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The President has nominated to the Senate James G. Berret, ex-Mayor of Washington, the Hon. James F. Vinton of Ohio, and Daniel R. Goodloe, formerly of North Carolina, Commissioners under the act for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, whose duty is to investigate and determine the validity and value of the claims presented. Mr. Goodloe is a North Carolinian by birth, an old contributor to *The National Era*, and at present the clerk of the Potter Investigating Committee; Mr. Vinton, formerly a leading Whig representative from Ohio, and is now classed as a conservative Republican.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts has introduced in the Senate a bill to amend the Fugitive Slave law, by providing a jury trial in the State where the fugitive is arrested, and requiring the claimant to furnish proof of his loyalty. The section containing the last of these provisions is in these words:

"Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That whenever any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person, shall seek to enforce such claim under the provisions of this act, he shall, before any order for the surrender of the person whose service is claimed, establish that he has not taken up arms against the United States, during the present rebellion, or in any manner given aid or comfort to said rebellion, but that he is, and has been, loyal to the government of the United States."

RIGHTS OF COLORED MEN.

Mr. Sumner's bill enabling colored men to be mail-carriers passed the Senate on the 11th, without a word of debate—ayes 24; nays 11, as follows: Messrs. Davis, Henderson, Kennedy, Lane (Indiana), Latham, Nesmith, Powell, Stark, Willey, Wilson (Mo.), and Wright.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia passed the House on Friday, the 11th inst., ayes 63, nays 39, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Ashley, Babbitt, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Bingham, Blair (Mo.), Blair (Pa.), Blake, Browne (R. I.), Buffinton, Campbell, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, Frederick A. Conkling, R. Conkling, Covode, Davis, Dawes, Delano, Diven, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, English, Fenton, Fessenden, Fisher, Franchot, Frank, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Haight, Hale, Hanchett, Harrison, Hickman, Hooker, Hutchings, Julian, Kelley, Kellogg (Mich.), Killinger, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, McKnight, McPherson, Mitchell, Moorehead, Morrill (Me.), Morrill (Vt.), Nixon, Odell, Olin, Patton, Pike, Porter, Potter, Rice (Me.), Rice (Mass.), Riddle, Rollins (N. H.), Sargeant, Sedgwick, Shanks, Sheffield, Shellabarger, Sloan, Spaulding, Stevens, Stratton, Thomas (Mass.), Train, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Van Valkenburgh, Verree, Wallace, Walton (Vt.), Washburne, Wheeler, White (Ind.), Wilson, and Windom.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bailey (Pa.), Biddle, Blair (Va.), Brown (Va.), Casey, Crittenden, Delaplaine, Grider, Hall, Harding, Holman, Johnson, Kerrigan, Knapp, Law, Lazear, Mallory, Menzies, Morris, Noble, Norton, Nugent, Pendleton, Perry, Price, Rollins (Mo.), Shiel, Steel (N. Y.), Steele (N. J.), Thomas (Md.), Vallandigham, Voorhies, Wadsworth, Wood, White (Ohio), Wickliffe, Wright.

Every Republican present voted yea. Brown and Sheffield of Rhode Island, and Thomas of Mass. and Harrison of Ohio—all ranking as conservatives—voted yea. So also did Fisher of Delaware (elected by a union of the Bell-Everett and Republican parties); and so also did English and Loomis of Connecticut, and Haight and Odell of New York—all Democrats. Of the thirty-eight regular Democrats from free States, but twenty-one said No to this bill. It is seldom that a measure vehemently opposed goes through Congress so overwhelmingly as this bill has done.

MAMMOTH PETITION.

On Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Sumner presented a petition, 700 feet long for the abolition of slavery. It was signed by 15,000 women. On the same day, Mr. Kelley of Pa. presented a duplicate of the same petition in the House.

RECLAMATION OF SLAVES IN THE ARMY.

Mr. Wilson of Mass. has introduced in the Senate a resolution of inquiry if further legislation is necessary to enforce the articles of war for preventing the reclamation of slaves from within the lines of the army. Mr. Grimes of Iowa spoke in favor of the resolution on Monday. He reviewed the instances lately occuring in Gen. Hooker's Division, showing that efforts had been made by slave-owners to reclaim their slaves within the lines with the knowledge of the commanding officer; that slaves were taken at Fort Donelson and carried to Columbus, Ohio, and were forced to render menial service, under military law, to rebel masters, thus establishing a system of slavery in a free State. He cited similar instances in Iowa and Illinois, and he thought it was high time that Congress should adopt some legislation in regard to this matter. There were as many different systems as there were military departments. Some slaves were flogged and returned, others shot; others called contrabands, and admitted within the lines, and others prohibited from entering the lines, as in the celebrated order No. 3 of Gen. Halleck, which ought to be at once countermanded and forever erased, in obedience to the popular feeling. He thought that great amounts of information could be acquired from these people, coming as they did from the enemy's line, if they were properly availed of. The North-west would not submit to any temporizing or compromising policy now. They had suffered too much already, and they demanded that the rebellion should be crushed out.

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

Under the resolution, introduced by Mr. White of Indiana and lately passed by the House (see last week's STANDARD), instituting an inquiry whether any plan can be proposed and recommended for the gradual abolition of slavery in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, the Speaker has appointed the following Committee: Albert S. White (Rep.) of Indiana, Francis P. Blair, Jr., (Rep.) of Missouri, George P. Fisher (Union) of Delaware, Wm. E. Lehman (Dem.) of Pennsylvania, C. L. L. Leary (Union) of Maryland, K. V. Whaley (Union) of Virginia, J. F. Wilson (Rep.) of Iowa, Samuel L. Carey (Union) of Kentucky, and Andrew J. Clements (Union) of Tennessee.

Chronicles of the War.

The Battle of Pittsburg, Tenn.

THE first reports of this battle were inaccurate in some particulars. The victory on the Union side was not so complete as could be wished. Beauregard caught Grant napping, and, falling upon his advanced force, came very near destroying it before the arrival of Buell's reënforcements. The result of the first day's fighting was favorable to the rebels, but on the second day the Union forces were victorious. Gen. Grant, in his official report, estimates our loss 1,500 killed and 3,500 wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed and left on the field is greater than ours. The loss of artillery was great, many pieces being disabled by the enemy's shot, some losing all their horses, and many men. Not less than 200 horses were killed. The rebel army has its headquarters at the foot of Pea Ridge, extending two miles from Corinth. The advance of the Union troops is eight miles from Pittsburg Landing, leaving a space of only two miles between the opposing armies. A battle may be fought at any moment. Gen. Halleck is in command.

Expedition up the Tennessee.

On Saturday night last a force of 4,000 men, on five transports, left Pittsburg Landing, accompanied by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, and proceeded up the Tennessee river to a point near Eastport, Miss., where they landed and proceeded inland to Bear Creek bridge, and destroyed the two bridges on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, one measuring 121 and the other 210 feet in length.

Island No. Ten.

The number of prisoners taken by Com. Foote at Island No. 10 was as follows: 17 officers, 378 privates, 100 sick, and 100 men employed on the gunboats. On the island there had been constructed 11 large earthworks, and 70 cannon of large caliber were taken possession of, besides large stores of powder and shot, and supplies of provisions. Four steamers were also captured; and to execute his task, Com. Foote required 23 days preparation.

Capture of Huntsville, Ala.

Huntsville, Ala., was occupied on Friday, the 11th inst., by Gen. Mitchell. The city was completely taken by surprise. We have captured about 500 prisoners, 15 locomotives, a large amount of passenger and box-platform cars, the telegraph apparatus and office, and two Southern mails. Gen. Mitchell also reports that he has occupied two other important points on the railroad—Decatur to the west, and a station at some distance to the east of Huntsville. He now holds 100 miles of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

Surrender of Fort Pulaski.

Norfolk papers were received at Fortress Monroe, on Monday afternoon, containing extracts from Savannah (Georgia) papers, which admit the unconditional surrender of Fort Pulaski. The fort surrendered at 2 o'clock p.m., on the 11th inst. The surrender was unconditional. Seven large breaches were made in the south wall by the National battery of eight guns, at King's Landing. Three balls entered the magazine, and a clean breach was made in it. The rebel Colonel, commanding the fort, had telegraphed, on the previous evening, that over 1,000 shells had exploded within the fort. Fort Pulaski is built on Cockspur Island, 14 miles from Savannah.

Summary.

Prentice says that Wendell Phillips came out to learn something of Western manners, and Cincinnati gave him an egg-sample.

Blind Tom, the negro pianist, of whom the papers over the country spoke so highly, is performing in Norfolk, and *The Day Book* says he is drawing good houses.

It has been suggested that old Mr. Bell ran away from Nashville because he was afraid of "*the enforcement of the laws*"—one of the planks of his party platform.

Whittier's song, "We wait beneath the furnace blast," which the Hutchinsons were not allowed to sing on the Potomac, has been printed in almost all the English papers.

Mr. Conway's brilliant and irresistible little book, "The Rejected Stone," is about to reappear in a new edition for wide circulation, a number of the friends of the cause having combined to give the volume to thousands who ought to read it, but who would not be likely to fall in with it otherwise.

A gang of kidnappers have been operating at Cairo, Ill., inducing negroes to go with them by promises of employment, and then selling them as slaves in Kentucky and Tennessee. One day last week several of them were bold enough to attempt to carry off a negro by violence, but the negro was arrested and put in jail for safe keeping.

A liberal English statesman, writing to a correspondent in Boston, remarks: "I have a strong belief that when your present troubles are over you will have more friends in England than ever before. This excitement and discussion and increased information will have done much good, and I think the future of the two nations may be more really friendly than the past has been."

LOCATION OF CONTRABANDS.—Several contrabands, not included in the ninety from Winchester, have recently settled in the neighborhood of Byberry and Bensalem, Bucks County. Sampson and Jane Robinson, two aged negro cripples, formerly of Loudon County, Va., have bought a small property in Bensalem, and intend to live out their days in that section.

A short time since, the New England Methodist Conference, sitting at Westfield, was brought to a stand in the case of a person asking admission to their connection, on the objection that he *chewed tobacco!* During the discussion raised a large majority were opposed to receiving any new member using tobacco, and so the case was laid over.

STORY'S SCULPTURES.—A late letter from our gifted countryman, Mr. William W. Story, announces that he is about to send his statues of Cleopatra and the Sybil to the London Exhibition. Previous to boxing them up they were opened to the public at his studio, and great crowds went to see them. He has begun a new figure of Sappho. Mr. Rogers, I believe, sends his Doors of the Capitol, which are among his best and most elaborate works.

CAPTURE OF A WHITE SLAVE.—*Fortress Monroe, March* 28.—The Fourteenth New York brought in a man found in bed with his boots on, and a knapsack was found in the room. He pretended that he was a negro, and was a cook in the Second Louisiana Regiment, but the boys told him he "couldn't play that on 'em," and thereupon ordered him to fall in. He is very light, but undoubtedly is a negro.—*World.*

Mr. Day, the some time American correspondent of the London *Herald*, has gone home and made a book in disparagement of the North and in favor of the South—especially in respect of women. He says: "I greatly prefer the soft Southern women, with all their little foibles and frailties *varium et mutabile semper*, to their pedantic, petulant, masculine, cold and harsh-mannered sisters of the North." The Southern women must be very soft, indeed, to compare, in that regard, with their putty-headed eulogist.

JEFFERSON'S PROPHECY.—President Jefferson's instincts were known to be against human slavery. From Edmund Bacon's new work on Jefferson appears the following prophecy: "No servants ever had a kinder master than Jefferson's. He did not like slavery. I have heard him talk a great deal about it. He thought it a bad system. *I have heard him prophesy that we should have just such trouble as we are having now.*" Similar predictions have been made by nearly all the founders of the republic. —*St. Louis Dem.*

A MARTYR.—About two years ago, when the Helper book excitement was at its height, a strong anti-slavery man named John Lighter was beaten very severely by a slaveholder and a notorious rebel sympathizer for expressing himself in favor of the sentiments contained in that celebrated book. The outrage occurred on the other side of the Eastern Branch, near Benning's bridge, where the villain owns a farm. Mr. Lighter never recovered from the effects of the beating, and was an invalid up to the time of his death, which occurred on Monday.—*Washington Republican, April* 2.

In one of his late speeches Parson Brownlow said the greatest negro thieves in the world were the Confederate soldiers. He spoke feelingly on this subject. They had stolen from him a likely negro boy, 14 years old, and worth a thousand dollars. He had never heard from the boy since he was taken away, and never expected to see him again or to get a cent for him. It was a solemn fact that the Confederate soldiers had stolen more negroes during this war than all the Abolitionists had stolen for forty years. Those soldiers were the off-scourings of the earth. Not one half of them had ever owned a negro, or were connected by any degree of social affinity or consanguinity with anybody who ever did own a negro.

TRAFFIC IN HUMAN FLESH—A WHITE CHILD SOLD IN THE CITY OF ROCHESTER!—This morning a man residing in this city called at the office of a prominent lawyer and there caused to be prepared a deed conveying his child—an infant eight months old—to another party for a consideration in hand paid. The instrument set forth a description of the child as it would have described any chattel it might have been framed to convey. The deed was acknowledged by the father and duly delivered to the party of the second part who has taken the child. It has been said that Southern fathers sell their own children. This is horrible, but it is no more than Northern white men may do and one has this day done in Rochester.—*Rochester Union, 9th.*

A SECESSION TROPHY—The following (says the Cincinnati *Gazette*) is the copy of a letter found on a rebel soldier captured at Bowling Green. In it was the ring so particularly spoken of. It illustrates the chivalric spirit and the scholarship of the masses who compose the secession forces. The letter and ring were sent us by a member of a Cincinnati regiment:

"to Sis: this ring was made by me the lead was A bullet that killed colonel Slocum of the 71s N. Y. regiment. I taken this out of his head my self and made this ring out of it Sis you will keep this for me until I return and if you keep it for me you will oblige me and if I never live to get back sis keep it in memory of me dont loose it if I live to get back I intend to have it plated and if I never do get back sis you will have it plated and keep it the Bullet that killed Colonel Slocum of the 71s New York regiment he was a brave man but on the wrong side A hotheaded Abolitionist so Enough About the ring."

SLAVERY AT THE CAPITAL.—Although many of our slave-owners are taking their slaves out of the city into Maryland, there are some who will welcome the passage of the bill. I saw one yesterday who owns eleven slaves; "I am waiting for the bill to pass," he said, "that the lot may be taken off my hands. I would a great deal rather get my $300 per slave and have them go free than to take my chances of a higher sum and the negroes still to remain slaves." Mr. Clark Mills, the sculptor, who is about to start for Europe, is a slave-owner in the District, and has repeatedly said that he has no objection whatever to the passage of the bill on his own account. This statement will apply to quite a number of our most respectable slaveholders. It is the secessionists who make the bitter opposition, and the class of ignorant poor "white trash," such as are always to be found in mobs in our large cities.—*Wash. Cor. Eve. Post.*

SLAVES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD.—The slaves of Prince George's County, we hear, are running away in numbers. Most of

Miscellaneous Department.

"LET MY PEOPLE GO."

THE SONG OF THE SLAVES' HOPE.

A MURMUR in the midnight! Hark!
The whisper of a tremulous hope
The battle's earthquake tramp may ope
The bondman's dungeon, deep and dark!
Old smothered heart-beats leaping out
Almost to utterance, old despair
Catching new breath in quickened air—
The indrawn breath of Freedom's shout!

A quick thought gleaming in the night—
Orion's sword by daylight sheathed!—
A voice to morning never breathed,
The lark-song of an inward light!
Long ere this glow of lurid dawn,
One sleepless eye, one listening ear,
In gloom could see, in silence hear,
The whispered hope, and sword undrawn.

By broad Missouri's winding wave,
By slow Savannah's heavy flood,
On fair Potomac dashed with blood,
Sings low the long-enduring slave
Old songs, the heir looms of old time,
The awful words that smote, erewhile,
The crested Dragon of the Nile,
Preluding Israel's march sublime.

In Plagues, the tenfold scourge of God,
Vermin and blight—all loathsome things
Commissioned by the King of kings—
Obedient to the Prophet's rod—
With blood and hail and lightening-glow,
And darkness deeper than the tomb,
Came down the trumpet voice of doom,
"Proud monarch! let my people go!"

Not till the robber's land was shorn
Of all her glory and her power,
And judgment rang its final hour
In death-groans of the earliest born;
Nor till the Red sea's refluent wave
Rolled in eternal overthrow
The pomp and pride of Pharaoh—
Came full deliverance to the slave.

The fire and blood and reptile swarm
Are on the land of bondage now.
The Judgment Angel's lowering brow
Portends the final thunder storm;
While mutters in the sulphurous cloud
The summons "let my people go!"
Slaves in their cabin chant it low,
And red-mouthed cannon shout it loud.

How long, avenging God! how long
Must rise the old predictive wail,
Must fall the lightning and the hail,
Ere dance the Freed to Miriam's song?
The murmur deepens to a cry,
Thought leaps to utterance like a sword
Of fire unsheathing for the Lord,
And Freedom calls to do or die!

The slave has hope! then hope, my soul,
No steed to slaughter drives amain
But where God holds the bridle-rein;
He calls from battle's thunder-roll,
"Ere all the first-born feel the blow,
And War's Red Sea forever whelms
The glory of your banded realms,
Arise! and let my people go!"

GEO. S. BURLEIGH.

OVER-SANGUINE PHILANTHROPISTS.

From The Christian Inquirer.

IT is frequently said that the institution which is at the bottom of all our troubles is dying out; that it has received its death-blow; and that all we have got to do now is, patiently to wait till it gives up the ghost. But our friends are, we believe, over-sanguine. Instead of dying, or intending to die, there never was a moment when the peculiar institution was making more determined efforts to live. The disgraceful riot in Cincinnati, which the authorities of the city were careful *not* to put down, will give Mr. Phillips and other men, in their confident tone that the evil is overthrown, a shrewd hint that it may come to sudden and venomous life again when least expected. The bitter and determined hostility of the Border State men in Congress, with a few honorable exceptions, to the mildly-drawn emancipation policy of the President, to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or to any measures curtailing in any way the privilege of holding human beings in bondage, is a significant lesson of what we are to expect when we have fought back into the Union the cotton and Gulf States. The conduct of a great number of the officers and leading Generals in the Union army, in petting the Southern interest, illegally returning fugitives, and repelling almost the only Unionists found in the advance of our troops, because not colored with a skin like our own, is ominous of a preference of this institution to the Union itself. Besides, we see among Northern editors, Congressmen, merchants, and military characters, an immense army of sympathizers with every effort to conserve the old status of things, timidity of change, and although the windows of heaven are opened, and the fountains of the great deep are broken up, and bubbling all around us, they hope the deluge will not come in *their* day.

This is human nature. We are not to be angry at it, or to despond because things move slowly. But neither are we to fall into the trap, and fold our hands, thinking that all things are working well, and that by-and-bye we find that the mighty evil has passed away like a morning cloud. So our over-sanguine fathers thought in the days of '76 and '87. They believed, as our good people do now, that slavery had received its death-blow, and that all that was necessary for them to do, was to wait, and pay their attention to its death-bed and burial. All the sayings and doings of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, and their associates, go upon the presumption that slavery was a social, political, and moral evil, and that the people themselves in the midst of which it existed would gradually extinguish it by peaceful, prospective emancipation. But they were deceived in the longevity of the acknowledged evil. It got a new lease of life; it overran new and fertile territories of immense extent; it cultivated great staples of the world's market, and held the Federal government for fifty years at its mercy. And unless it is killed now, it will do the same thing over again. The full spirit and determination exist to do it, and the result, if defeated, can only be defeated by the most wide-awake attention, the most sagacious wisdom, and the most iron will of Northern patriots and philanthropists. It is no time to sleep. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." If we do not take advantage of the golden opportunity to overthrow slavery, when we have the legal and constitutional power to do it, when it is a rebel and in arms, and when every motive of "indemnity for the past and security for the future" prompts us to extinguish it forever; if we take it back into a reconstructed Union, bind up its wounds, restore its prestige and privileges, we lose a providential opportunity, warm the frozen serpent again to life in our bosom, and bequeath a bloodier war than the present one to our children's children, with we know not what dangerous complications with foreign powers. "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation."

If the institution has done in the green tree of the first century of the Republic, without exasperating causes, what we now behold, and played traitor, rebel, and conspirator at home and abroad, what will it do in the dry tree of its suppressed but smouldering vengeance after this bloody war? Can we trust it? Will it make a good Unionist? Will it obey the laws? Will it keep the peace? We confess we see no very cordial symptoms of Unionism anywhere in the slave country. The poison of the institution kills patriotism, with but few exceptional instances.

We know that partial injustice and suffering may be incidental to the total overthrow even of so gigantic an evil. We know that some may lose property, and that, in such a radical revolution, society for a season will be broken up. But it is already broken up. Are not thousands suffering, losing, mourning, dying? This would be a healing more than a destroying measure, because it would expunge the root of bitterness. Slowly the people are becoming educated up to the point. The chief magistrate has given admonitory predictions of what he should be obliged to do if the rebellion continued. We believe the fatal moment is drawing nigh when he will put forth his conceded and rightful authority, and win the gratitude of his country for all coming ages. We hear of conversions on all sides, even of the most conservative men, to these doctrines.

We can give up our young men to die; we can lavish hundreds of millions; we can consent to renounce the comforts and luxuries of life, and live in threadbare and crust-and-water poverty, for our country. But if we do it, we shall make a pretty searching investigation into the causes of our doing it, and what we gain by the cost. *Cui bono?* Is it to put all things back again where they were before? Is it to have the threats and insolence of former years renewed, and our country disgraced at home and abroad by its position of inconsistency between its professions and its practice? Few instances are, however, known in history of voluntary emancipation. But by power, by revolution, by the blow of an emperor, by military order, by the ordinance of the parent country over her colonies, it has been done again and again. It is a transient disturbance for an eternal boon. But in our case, if the things which belong to our peace are hidden from our eyes, we may treasure up wrath against an even more fearful day of wrath than the slave revolution of 1861-2.

HISTORY.—Young minds, unless carefully guarded, often receive injurious impressions from history. They see the ambitious exerting such vast power and enjoying such splendid success, that they are dazzled and overwhelmed; they form false ideas of greatness, become reconciled to wars, and sympathize so strongly with the towering oppressor, that they feel no concern for the nations he desolates.—*Channing.*

THE OLDEN TIME.

From The Delaware (Pa.) Republican.

SEVENTY years ago, there was scarcely a riding carriage to be seen in Delaware County. Parents rode to their meeting-houses and churches on horseback, carrying their children behind them seated on pack-saddles. The daughters of wealthy farmers rode to Philadelphia market on horseback, carrying meat, butter and other products of the farms packed in large wallets, which hung upon each side of the horse they rode. The journeys were performed in a slow walk, in the night, be the weather wet or dry, cold or warm. They set out soon enough in the evening to be in market before daylight in the morning. There was but one market in the city at that time, and it was in Market street, extending from Second to Third, and it was necessary to be there in time to obtain room to place a bench upon which the marketing was offered for sale.

At that time all the land between Ninth street and the Schuylkill river, and between Callowhill and South streets, was a common; not a panel of fence, a tree or a building was to be seen. Cattle and sheep, which were owned by butchers and drovers, were pastured upon it, and were herded by persons employed for that purpose. The market people were ferried over the Schuylkill in scows attached to ropes that extended across the river, and during ice freshets there was no means of crossing until the swiftness of the current had subsided.

In the year 1800, the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington. Previous to that time, Congress met in the old State House, in Chestnut street. We have seen Gen. Washington travelling in a plain carriage, drawn by two horses, driven by a plain-dressed colored man, with no other person in company, except a waiting boy. His appearance indicated plain republican simplicity and equality. He was above making a display by being followed by a retinue in time of peace. Some of the members of Congress from the South made a very different appearance when travelling, as they rode in splendid coaches, plated with silver, drawn by four fine blooded horses, and not unfrequently by six, with a black boy riding one of the leaders, who, with the driver and one or two out-riders, were all dressed in livery. This equipage was followed by an old carriage drawn by two horses, and loaded with black women. Such was the appearance at that time of Southern democracy, who were then aping the British nobility.

The successors of these lordly Southern gentlemen have been necessitated to dispose of some of their full-blooded stock, and also some that were not more than half-blood mulattoes, that they might be able to keep their souls and bodies together a little longer; but since they commenced robbing and fighting the "mud-sills," the market for their supplies appears to be fore-closed. How they will be able to live hereafter, time alone will make manifest. They may go to work sooner than starve to death; and when they do, I hope you will tell us, as we wish to know.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century it was thought necessary to enforce progress in civilization by the use of the hickory cudgel and cow-skin. Men were in the habit of beating their wives and daughters who were grown up and marriageable. The cruelties inflicted upon sons by their fathers, upon apprentices by their masters, and upon scholars by their teachers—the recollection of which is enough to make an old man, who lived in the preceding century, ashamed of the state of society which existed at the time of his birth and education. It is pleasing to reflect that the public mind has become more softened and more kind as we progress, and the discipline of schools and workshops is infinitely less harsh and cruel than it was years back. We may guess, as the Yankees do, that the blooded horses in the South are more high in bone and low in flesh than they were before their lands were so worn out and poor.

Some time previous to the commencement of the present war, some one or more of the members of Congress from the South, said on the floor of the House of Representatives at Washington, to their opponents on the opposite side: "You are black Republicans, and we will subdue you," insinuating that the Republicans were not more respectable than their black slaves, and much less so than their children—the mulatto slaves. From that time up to the present, their coadjutors and fellow-partisans here in the North have denominated their opponents black Republicans, for the purpose of stigmatizing and degrading them, being so dumb and blind as to be unable to perceive that they were degrading themselves much more than the Republicans. C. C.

WILLIAM GOODELL IN WASHINGTON.

From The Principia.

AVAILING ourselves of the temporary suspension of our editorial labors, we improved the opportunity to visit the seat of the Federal government, to see and hear for ourselves, what might present itself to be seen and heard; to converse with public men, to collect what information we could, that might help us to judge of the present, and to anticipate, if it were possible, the future; at the same time omitting no suitable opportunity that might offer to express our own views of the crisis, of the principles which should guide our public councils, and the measures that the times demand.

We had twelve days in Washington City, which we improved as well as we could. We gained access to those whom we most wished to see, so far as circumstances and time would permit. Our opportunities to converse with members of Congress, and other public men, were not few. By most of them we were cordially received, and with discourtesy by none. They had, nearly all of them, known us by our publications, and readily fell into conversation on the topics therein discussed, and on the great issues of the day.

We entered Washington about the time that several topics were on the lips of every one—the President's Message, recommending resolutions favoring emancipation—the appointment of Gen. Fremont to a new command—the retreat of the rebel forces from Manassas, and the result of the "strategy" of Gen. McClellan, permitting their escape unharmed. On all these topics, in the circles to which we had access, we heard but one sentiment. All were cheered and encouraged by the President's Message, and by his appointment of Gen. Fremont. All were chagrined at the escape of the rebels from Manassas; and all were disgusted and indignant with the negligence of Gen. McClellan in permitting their escape. The most popular man was Fremont; the most unpopular was McClellan. We might have attributed this to the particular cast of the company we had naturally fallen into, had we not sought, by mingling in the promiscuous crowds that thronged the great hotels, to find, if it were to be found, a contrary expression. For this purpose we spent an hour or more at Willard's, in the evening, where the crowded halls and rooms were alive with the current news. Groups were gathering and dispersing. All were on their feet, and in earnest converse. Elbowing our way from group to group, not a word could we catch regretting the Message of the President, or his appointment of Fremont; not a word in justification or praise of McClellan. All seemed to hold opposite sentiments or to be silent. At the National Hotel it was much the same. For a day or two, the prompt removal of McClellan was generally advocated and expected. The guests at the hotels included, of course, citizens from different parts of the country as well as members of Congress and occasional residents in Washington.

We do not feel at liberty to divulge *all* the conversations we held with public men, some of which were not intended for the public ear. Others of them were so frank, open, unrestrained, and in the hearing of others, that we could not consider them confidential. As a summary of the whole, we infer that radical views, in Washington City, in and out of Congress, and official circles, are on the advance. To this improved condition of things, the lectures in the Smithsonian Institute, this season, have greatly contributed, without question. Such is the testimony of many with whom we conversed. An ingress of free population from the loyal States, including not a few of the newly-appointed Clerks in the several Departments (since the disloyal clerks have been ejected) is contributing in some degree to purify the moral and political atmosphere of Washington.

Our interview with the President was, every way, an interesting one. We were introduced by a member of Congress. The President at once recognized us, as the editor of *The Principia* and the compiler of "OUR NATIONAL CHARTERS." Of the latter he said, "it is a convenient manual for reference. I have it here in my drawer," and commenced looking for it. Not finding it, he said, "Oh, I remember having carried it into another room." He continued. "I do not commit myself to all your positions, but this I will say: They are stated with a clearness and force that I have not seen surpassed." This he said in the presence of one or two others, and we began to converse, when Mr. Crittenden and another Kentucky gentleman came in, to whom we were introduced by the President. They soon finished their business and withdrew. Others followed, and for some time, we were with the President alone, and had full opportunity to say what we most wished. He heard us with seriousness and attention, and asked us some questions, to which we responded. We received the impression that the President was sincerely desirous of doing what was best for the country, if he could find out, to his own satisfaction, what it was, *how* it could be done, and whether *he* could do it. There is encouragement for patriotic citizens to communicate their thoughts and convictions to the President. *We* did so, with perfect freedom, and received the President's thanks for our call. There was an air of serious thoughtfulness about him, during our interview, which deeply impressed us, and afforded us grounds of hope for our country, as well as encouragement for Christian faithfulness and prayer.

Many incidents of our visit to Washington were, to us, very interesting. In a review of the whole, we are satisfied, on reflection, that *the issue of the present contest is yet to be decided by the voice of the people*, speaking plainly, respectfully, but earnestly and perseveringly, by petitions, by letters, and orally, so far as possible, to the men in authority at Washington. The President, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, the Senators, the Representatives, the Generals, *are all to be moved by the voice of the people.* If the people have any interest in the policy of the government, and if they have any fixed and definite idea of what ought to be done, to save the country, let them lose no time in communicating with the members of the government, frankly and freely. The notion that it would embarrass the government, or be an impertinent interference, is a grand mistake, at variance with truth, and with the genius of our free institutions. The government, the senators and the representatives have no idea of the present state of public opinion, which is so rapidly advancing beyond its former position.

JACK AND MAGGIE.

[Translated by BAYARD TAYLOR, from the Alemannic-German dialect of JOHN PETER HEBEL, for *The Atlantic Monthly.*]

THERE'S only one I'm after,
And she 's the one, I vow!
If she was here, and standin' by,
She is a gal so neat and spry,
So neat and spry,
I'd be in glory now!

It 's so, I 'm hankerin' for her,
And want to have her, too.
Her temper 's always gay and bright,
Her face like posies red and white,
Both red and white,
And eyes like posies blue.

And when I see her comin',
My face gits red at once;
My heart feels chokin'-like, and weak,
And drops o' sweat run down my cheek,
Yes, down my cheek,
Confound me for a dunce!

She spoke so kind, last Tuesday,
When at the well we met:
"Jack, give a lift! What ails you? Say!
I see that somethin' 's wrong to-day:
What 's wrong to-day?"
No, that I can't forget!

I know I'd ought to tell her,
And wish I'd told her then;
And if I wasn't poor and low,
And sayin' it did n't choke me so,
(It chokes me so,)
I'd find a chance again.

Well, up and off I 'm goin';
She 's in the field below:
I 'll try and let her know my mind;
And if her answer is n't kind,
If 't is n't kind,
I 'll jine the ranks, and go!

I 'm but a poor young fellow,
Yes, poor enough no doubt:
But ha'n't, thank God, done nothin' wrong,
And be a man as stout and strong,
As stout and strong,
As any roundabout.

What 's rustlin' in the bushes?
I see a movin' stalk:
The leaves is openin': there 's a dress!
O Lord, forbid it! but I guess—
I guess—I guess
Somebody's heard me talk!

Ha! here I am! you 've got me!
So keep me, if you can!
I 've guessed it ever since last fall,
And Tuesday morn I saw it all,
I saw it all!
Speak out, then, like a man!

"Though rich you a'n't in money,
Nor rich in goods to sell,
An honest heart is more than gold,
And hands you 've got for field and fold,
For house and fold,
And—Jack—I love you well!"

"O Maggie, say it over!
O Maggie, is it so?
I could n't longer bear the doubt:
'T was hell, but now you 've drawed me out,
You 've drawed me out!
And will I? *Won't* I, though!"

THE POPE ON FOOT.

WE read in a letter from Rome of the 22d ult., in *The Post:* "Yesterday, tempted either by the fineness of the weather, or by a desire to contradict the rumors in circulation of his illness, the Pope, after taking an airing, got out of his carriage and walked round the Pincio. Such a circumstance is of very rare occurrence, and many residents have been in Rome for years without seeing his Holiness; therefore I may deem myself fortunate in having come across him without the formality of seeking for an audience. The sight was an impressive one, and a description of it may, perhaps, not be uninteresting to your readers. First came three outriders of his guard of honor, then two tall footmen, whose stature would not have disgraced Belgravia, and then the cardinals in waiting. Immediately after these came Pius IX., dressed in his white robe, with a scarlet hat, scarlet stockings and shoes, walking between Monsignore Talbot and Monsignore Ricci, in purple robes. A few more priests followed by the side of the Papal carriage, which, if not quite so magnificent as our own State carriages, was nevertheless a most elaborately adorned equipage, drawn by four very fine jet black horses, and driven by a coachman of those square dimensions only seen on the opening of Parliament. The Pope was escorted by the remainder of the troop of dragoons who are attached to his household. As he passed, every Catholic's knee was bent to him, and every Protestant's hat was raised, and the blessings which he bestowed on all his followers as he went round the park seemed to be deeply appreciated. As, just now, the health of the Pope is a matter of such deep importance to Europe, your readers will perhaps be interested to learn that according to all outward appearance he could not be better; and I have never seen a man of his age walk faster, and with less symptoms of fatiguing himself. In fact, the pace at which he went might be described as a swinging one, and his arms seemed to keep time with his legs. To describe him is unnecessary, as there are so many photographs at the West End; but I doubt if any artist could adequately portray the benevolence of his countenance, which is something truly remarkable. After he had made his promenade he got into his carriage amid loud and long-continued cheering, and the impression he produced by his visit was, I should say, decidedly a success."

THE FALL OF AN ICEBERG.

THE outline of the berg, though, is worth remembering. It cuts the blue vault like the edge of a bright sword, and pricks it with flashing spears. The eye darts from point to point along its lengthy zigzag and flowing thread, and sweeps from the sea upward and over to the sea again. How persistently the treacherous current labors to bear us in upon the clift. Let alone the oars five minutes, and we should be among the great rain drops slipping from the overhanging crags. Horrible! The berg is burst. The whole upper front is coming. There it is—gone in the sea. Keep still! Keep still! Don't be frightened! The captain will manage it. Here come the big swells. Hurra! Look out for the next! Here we go—splendid! Now for the third and last. How she combs as she comes. Hurra!—Hurra! Here we are—all safe—inside of them. See them go!—racing over the ocean, circles of plumed cavalry. Now for the berg. He'll make a magnificent roll of it, if he don't go to pieces. Should he, then put us half-a-mile away. See it rise!—The water-line—rising—rising—up—up. It looks like a carriage-way. Hark! Crack—crack—crack. Quick! quick! Look at the black water here;—all spots and spangles of green. Something is coming! There it comes! The very witchcraft of the deep—Neptune's half acre, bowers, thrones, giants, eagles, elephants, vases spilling, fountains pouring, torrents tumbling, glassy banks. Look at the peaks slanting off into the blue air, and the great slant precipice. Hah! Don't you see? It is coming again—slowly coming—crack—crack—crack. Down sinks the garden—on roll the swells—down go bowers, thrones, statuary—lost amid the tumult and thunder of the surf. Over bend the precipice—this way over—frightfully over—in roll the waves—roaring, thundering in—dashing, lashing crag and chasm. Wonderful to see! Waterfalls bursting into light above—plunging in snowy columns to the sea. How terrible—terrible all this is. But, O, how beautiful! Who that does not witness it, knows anything of the bursting of an iceberg? It comes with the crash of a thunderbolt. But how can one tell the horrible, shocking noise? A pine split by lightning has the point, but not the awful breadth and fulness of the sound. All, ocean, and the berg, all fairly spring at the power of it. And then the ice-fall, with its ringing, rumbling, crashing roar, and the heavy, explosion-like voice of the final plunge, followed by the wild, frantic dashing of the waters. You see the whole upper face of the ice, yards deep, and scores of them in width, all gone. All was blasted off instantly, and dropped at once, a stupendous cataract of brilliant ruins. Here we are, at last, where the painter will revel—between the glories of sunset and the iceberg. What shall we call all this magnificence, clustered in a square quarter of a mile? The Bernese Alps in miniature. A dark violent sea, and alps in burnished silver, with the colors of the rainbow dissolving among them. Lofty ridges, of the shape of flames, have the tint of flames, out of the purity of lillies bloom the pink, and rose; sky-blue shadows sleep in the defiles; I will not say cloth of gold drapes, but water of gold washes—water of green, of orange, scarlet, crimson, purple, wash the crags and steeps; strange metallic tints gleam in the shaggy caverns—copper, bronze, and gold. Endless grace of form and outline!—endless, endless beauty!—*After Icebergs with a Painter.*

THEODORE PARKER'S EARLY STUDIES.

LETTER IN PENCIL FROM HIS SICK-BED TO A FELLOW-STUDENT AND BROTHER MINISTER.

BOSTON, January 14, 1859.

MY DEAR ——: Many thanks for your kind and generous letter. It finds me on my back and forbidden to talk; so I use the only means of reply which are left me, and must answer short, even with a pencil. It was a good time we had together in 1834 and 1835, at the Commons table, over our rice and molasses. Neither of us was rich—I, at least, was decidedly poor; and both were fighting our way to manly development with our own fists. We have sat among famous men since then, but neither you nor I have since heard much better talking than used to be set a-going at that rough pine table, and over the pewter spoons dedicate *Christo et Ecclesiæ.* What we could bring from our little past, and what we gathered day by day from our studies, all was laid on the board, and formed part of the common banquet. When we first met, I well remember that you had a better knowledge than I of the more spiritual metaphysical system which Cousin so eloquently set forth. I had then nothing but Locke, Reid, Stewart, Brown, Mackintosh, and their followers and predecessors, who certainly could not legitimate the facts of my daily consciousness. I had read Cousin's analysis and refutation of Locke, and got something from it; also Enfield's "History of Philosophy," which is a sort of kaleidoscope of metaphysical philosophy—things jumbled together with no order, and often only fragments of things. You had been more fortunate in your studies, and earlier than I got a start in the better philosophy that gave your conversation a value to me which I felt deeply. I had not read Plato in April, 1834! But I found the "Phædon" in the Greek alcove of the old library one afternoon—a copy in pure Greek, without note or comment, I think; I sat up nearly all night to read it, and make it my own. It let in a world of light. I presently after read the rest of Plato, not without delight and instruction. How we used to talk over his high mysteries, and nice dialectics, and rash assumptions and generalizations—too often founded on a quibble! But it inspired and did us good.

A great change, since those days! You and I have separated widely, but I think we both have been equally conscientious and faithful to our several natures. Will God ask more, or be content with less? I have rejoiced to know of your success and usefulness, and to read your words in behalf of literature and humanity in the great vulgar city of New York. Some years ago I was specially struck with a report of your remarks at a dinner of the Jews. It was a grand sight to see a Christian minister who declared that God loved a religious Jew as well as a religious Christian.

I thank you for the kind things you say about me, and hope they may prove true. Certainly, I have contended for the rights of the soul against bigotry on the one side, and atheism on the other. I hope the "charities which heal and soothe and bless," will be scattered along the pathway of my thought, while "the primal virtues shine aloft as stars," to guide the travellers there.

I have yet much to do, but if I pass on and leave it unfinished, some one else will better do the work. Mankind does not miss a single man, and there is never a break in the continuity of the human march. But I have writ too long; the flesh is weak.

With many thanks, and the best wishes, believe me, yours faithfully, THEODORE PARKER.

THE BARNWELLS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE have had a personal visit at our office from two South Carolinians of the distinguished family of Barnwell. They are Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and Rosa Barnwell, late of Charleston. We had heard a good deal of the South Carolina Barnwells, although we never before knew that they were black.

Owing to the blockade of Charleston, ladies and gentlemen in that city wishing to come North do not enjoy the same facilities of travel as formerly; and Mr. and Mrs. Barnwell, finding it impossible to procure passage in a first-class steamer, took a row-boat at midnight, and with the help of ebb-tide, good oars, and moonlight, pulled away past Sumter and Moultrie, past Johnston and Castle Pinckney, down the deep channel and out at sea for seven miles, until the gray of the morning disclosed the blockading squadron, when the captain of the Florida, spying the adventurers, gave them a signal to board his ship. Here they had sight of an American flag, and here they tasted a cup of coffee—both of which were equally strange things in Charleston. Straightway after breakfast, they were set on a steamer bound to Hilton Head, and thence took passage to New York—where Mr. Barnwell will be happy to enter into some profitable business arrangement as a shipsmith, and will not refuse good wages.

It was his unpleasant duty to render a variety of military services against his country in the capacity of a slave. He says that at Fort Moultrie—where he did duty behind a sand-bag, on that memorable day whose anniversary recurs next Monday—the only casualties were two men wounded and a horse killed. At Hilton Head, where he passed powder in answer to Commodore Dupont's salute, the first man who took to his heels was Gen. Drayton, commander of the post. Mr. Barnwell, returning then to Charleston, lent his aid in fortifying Castle Pinckney, until he received intelligence from Mrs. Barnwell, who resided in a rich lady's house in Charleston, that the rich lady and her servants were to go post-haste next day into the interior to be out of harm's way; whereupon, being averse to that arrangement so far as Mrs. Barnwell was concerned, he immediately put her into a row-boat and made the romantic moonlight excursion we have mentioned.

Mrs. Barnwell says that housekeeping in Charleston is just now very expensive. Coffee, for instance, costs $3.50 a pound, and Tea $5.00. On many breakfast and supper tables, even in the best society, numerous substitutes for coffee and tea have become fashionable, such as cotton-seed, okra-seed, rye, and dried sweet potatoes—all made into hot-water decoctions. Calico is a dollar a yard; a pair of ladies' gaiters, $6.00; a pair of soldiers shoes, $4.50; a tallow candle, 6 cents; a sperm, 12 cents; a bar of soap, $1; salt, $15 a sack—which has led to common talk of cooking meat in the salt water of the harbor.

Most of the people living in fine houses, fearing an attack on the city, have already removed their silver, their pictures, their costly furniture, and their old wines into the country—leaving only their common chairs, tables, and kitchen-utensils to fall a prey to the reëntering American flag. Two hundred buildings were destroyed by the recent fire, among which were some of the finest mansions in town, many stores, a great cotton factory, and St. Cecilia's Hall, where the first families held their fancy balls. There was a prevailing idea that the city would be surrendered after a short show of defense. Only 3,000 soldiers defend it, many of whom are half-starved, and have loudly threatened to go back to their loyalty.

Mr. and Mrs. Barnwell bring with them to the North about a thousand dollars each, not in cash but in chattels personal, being now owners of themselves in fee simple.—*Independent.*

SINGULAR SUPERSTITION.

WE take the following passage from a Dutch newspaper published in Batavia: A very curious superstition agitates at present in an alarming manner the native population here, and we have been requested by several parties to direct public attention to it. It is required for the erection of any important buildings or works to offer as sacrifice a number of human heads or eyes, and in order to obtain these the *Tjoelick*, or collectors of the objects of sacrifice, rove at night about the huts, ensnaring children, and sometimes even full-grown persons. It is said that they are, at the present time, busily occupied in this inhuman pursuit, as, owing either to the erection of a new bridge, or of the gasworks, an extensive sacrifice is required: this sacrifice is to consist, according to some authorities, of three small barrels full of human eyes; according to others, of three hundred human heads. The proprietor of the works is, of course, the party who gives the order; but, according to the most generally received opinion, it is government itself that requires the sacrifice. These discreditable stories spread such terror among the population that no one can venture out at night; mothers watch their children with trembling anxiety, and each tongue is busy with fearful tales. We know not whether religious fanatics, with more or less dangerous intentions, have given rise to these stories; or whether, in reality, some outcasts are found capable of such enormities. The police recently laid hold of several parties who were under suspicion, but who, after inquiry, were set at liberty. True it certainly is, that robbers take advantage of the general fear, and by shouting Tjoelick, Tjoelick! drive the inhabitants from their buildings, which they then enter and pillage. Some suppose that the whole affair is originated by some evil-disposed persons who are opposed to the lighting of the town by gas, either out of superstitious fear of this mysterious novelty, or because the opportunities for nightly robberies will then diminish. We earnestly hope that the police may succeed in the important and difficult task of ascertaining the true grounds of this dangerous superstition, and in increasing the confidence of the people towards the government.

UNDER THE CROSS.

I CANNOT, cannot say—
Out of my bruised and breaking heart—
Storm-driven along a thorn-set way,
While blood-drops start
From every pore, as I drag on—
"Thy will, O God, be done."

I cannot, in the wave
Of my strange sorrow's fierce baptism,
Look up to heaven, with spirit brave
With holy chrism;
And while the whelming rite goes on,
Murmur "God's will be done."

I am not strong to bear
This sudden blast of scorching breath,
Which blossoms hope in black despair,
And life in death:
I cannot say, without the sun,
"My God, thy will be done."

I thought, but yesterday,
My will was one with God's dear will;
And that it would be sweet to say—
Whatever ill
My happy state should smite upon,
"Thy will, my God, be done."

But I was weak and wrong,
Both weak of soul and wrong of heart;
And Pride alone in me was strong,
With cunning art
To cheat me in the golden sun,
To say "God's will be done."

O shadow, drear and cold,
That frights me out of foolish pride;
O flood! that through my bosom rolled
Its billowy tide!
I said, till ye your power made known,
"God's will, not mine, be done."

Now, faint and sore afraid,
Under my cross—heavy and rude—
My idols in the ashes laid,
Like ashes strewed;
The holy words my pale lids shun—
"O God, thy will be done."

Pity my woes, O God!
And touch my will with thy warm breath;
Put in my trembling hand thy rod,
That quickens death;
That my dead faith may feel thy sun,
And say "Thy will be done!"

—*N. Y. Examiner.*

PROOF THAT THE SOUTH HAS ARMED THE NEGROES.

To the Editors of The Evening Post.

IN your issue of April 8th you mention the project entertained at Washington, and probably approved by the Secretary of War, of forming negro regiments for occupying the towns and fortresses in the Gulf States which have been or will be taken by the loyal troops. It may calm the scruples and fears of those who are startled at this proposal, to know that the organization of "negro regiments" is no novelty in the South. I have before me a curious and quite conclusive evidence of this fact in a letter which I picked up (with many others) in the fortifications of Manassas, which I visited on the morning after the occupation by the United States troops. The letter is dated "New Orleans, 31st December, 1861." It is in French, and is signed by "Paul Viallou," and addressed to "Captain Victor Bourges, etc., etc., Manassas Junction, Virginia." The passage to which I refer I translate as follows:

"You inquire of me who are the superior officers of the regiment of negroes here in this city. As far as I have been able to learn, the Colonel is Labatut, the Lieutenant-Colonel Ogden; the major, Dickson. As to the captains, they are negroes or mulattoes. Ever since they have been allowed to command companies they think themselves greater than the whites, they take airs upon themselves, and act with such insolence towards the ladies on Sunday at the Church of St. Augustine, that there are few of them who any longer attend there. But they will be put down very quickly; for two or three of them, within a few days, have barely escaped being killed."

We have met before with statements or rumors that the South had armed the negroes to aid them in carrying on this rebellion, but we never met the fact before in so full and detailed a form as in this confession, addressed to an officer at Manassas by a gentleman of New Orleans. This experiment of a "regiment de nègres," with negro or mulatto captains, may not be thought to have resulted in a way which affords much encouragement to repeat it; but the project contemplated by the government, and recommended by *The Evening Post*, proposes that these regiments should be entirely officered by whites, a plan by which all danger of negro elation and insolence in consequence of sudden elevation to official dignity and power would be effectually guarded against. No one ever hears of a mutinous or insolent disposition in the negro regiments organized in various dependencies of the British empire. Freedom and the habit of self-control are attended by conservative influences far more effective and desirable than outward restraint or intimidation. The negro is treated with respect in the British service and British society. He is recognized as a man, and therefore feels bound to show the attributes of a man. In our Southern States he is regarded and treated as a chattel. What wonder, then, if he is degraded and demoralized, and, entrusted with power or authority, becomes dangerous? But organized, disciplined and *paid* by the United States, and commanded by United States officers, the negroes would occupy a new *status;* they would be brought under a new and elevating class of moral influences; they would be *safely* and rapidly educated to a capacity for liberty, and meanwhile would form by far the *cheapest* and in many respects the best military force to occupy such regions of the South as would be dangerous to Northern constitutions, till the surges left by this storm of rebellion, shall have subsided into a permanent calm.

VOYAGEUR.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

THE vote on the 3d inst. of the people of Northwestern Virginia, whereby they expressed their decided desire to constitute a new and independent State, to be recognized and admitted into the Union as West Virginia, and to be gradually relieved of the incubus of slavery, is a most cheering sign of the times. The proposed new State consists of thirty-nine Counties, or nearly one-third of the area of the Virginia that lately was. It contained, by the census of 1860, a population of 280,641, which was rapidly increasing by immigration up to the outbreak of the rebellion—the chief impulse to this increase being the recent discovery of Petroleum or Rock Oil in some of its valleys. Being considerably larger in area than New Jersey or any New England State but Maine, with vast though as yet undeveloped Mineral resources—Coal, Salt, Iron, Petroleum, etc.—and a superabundance of excellent Timber, there is no reason why West Virginia, with Peace and Impartial Liberty, may not have Half a Million of inhabitants within ten years and more than One Million within thirty. Traversed by Railroads whereon her products may readily find markets in the East or in the West, threaded by Rivers whereon her Timber and other bulky staples may be cheaply floated down to the Ohio and the ever-growing cities on its banks, West Virginia needs but Freedom for All to assure her a rapid growth and a glorious destiny. She had but 6,894 slaves in 1860; she has probably less than 5,000 now—many having been hurried off to places of greater security before the advance of the Union armies, while others have hurried themselves away to the Free West to escape the unappreciated blessings of servitude. And these 5,000 slaves, the White freemen of West Virginia have voted, shall no longer chain her to a doomed and desperate cause, to which her every interest is irreconcilably hostile. The delegated Convention which lately assembled at Wheeling, and framed there a Constitution for the embryo State, left slavery undisturbed; but decreed that the People, in voting to ratify or reject it, should vote also For or Against a policy of Gradual Emancipation. They did so last Thursday; and the aggregate result is a great majority for the Constitution and one barely less for Emancipation. And though the vote was necessarily light, the whole region being convulsed and distracted by the perils and apprehensions which accompany civil war, there can be no doubt that it expresses the deliberate and unchangeable judgment of the People.

This is one of the most palpable and auspicious results yet realized from the war inaugurated by slavery for the overthrow of the Union. That West Virginia was thoroughly loyal, has at no time been doubtful. Her delegates so voted at Richmond when their lives were in danger from an infuriated mob of slave traders and their tools during the week of madness that followed the fall of Fort Sumter. A handful of her aristocracy and a larger number of their ignorant, idle, and profligate satellites, were rebels on instinct; but the great mass were inflexibly loyal from the start. But no Abolition lecturer was ever allowed to climb their steep ridges and penetrate their narrow valleys preaching the gospel of Wages for the Worker, while their every vote in Congress has been uniformly cast into the scale of slavery. Gag-rules; Texas annexation; resistance to the unbalanced admission of California as a free State; the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise; the years of outrage and indignity to which the free State settlers of Kansas were subjected at the hands of the border ruffians—in short, every crime of the Slave Power throughout the last twenty years—has commanded the thoroughgoing support of the representatives in Congress of Western Virginia, wherein Pierce, Buchanan, and the two rival Democratic candidates in 1860, received large majorities over Scott, Fillmore, and Bell, while Fremont and Lincoln had but a handful of votes all told, and these mainly cast in the Yankee-peopled city of Wheeling. No voice from the free States being allowed to reach them, it seemed at least probable that a majority of the West Virginians might blindly plod on in the old rut, eager to show that, while they cling to the Union, they had not ceased to be Democrats and Virginians.

Such apprehensions did them gross injustice. Rude and illiterate as many of them are, they yet have eyes, which the events of the past year have opened to their full dimensions. Reading little and hearing no speeches, they needed but their own observation to convince them that the origin and mainspring of the rebellion are to be found in human slavery—that on slavery it feeds and with slavery it must die. Had they favored secession, they would have clung to slavery; loving the Union, they resolved and voted that slavery must die. And that vote is our conclusive answer to those who are eternally menacing us with the hostility of the Border States if we do not cease warring upon slavery. Whosoever loves slav